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ABSTRACT

A study of the Kriol spoken in Australia's Fitzroy Valley begins with an overview of pidgins and creoles, and chronicles the historical beginnings of the Fitzroy Valley Kriol and the sociolinguistic situation there. Some grammatical features of Kriol are analyzed and compared to traditional Australian languages. Problems of assigning English etymons to Kriol words are discussed in terms of the contrast in meaning between Kriol lexemes and English words normally equated with them. This misapplication of vocabulary and meaning creates communication problems between Kriol and English speakers. (MSE)

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Series A Volume 8

GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF FITZROY VALLEY KRIOL

by Joyce Hudson

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SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES BRANCH
DARWIN
JULY 1985

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PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past re-search projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are being circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

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INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 8

This monograph was first written as a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Australian National University. It is published here after minor revision.

Joyce Hudson brings to this monograph 13 years study of Walmajarri, a traditional Aboriginal language, and observation of the increased use of Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley Area. With this background she has been able to give an informed view of the sociolinguistic aspects of Kriol as well as the linguistic analysis.

The author begins by giving us a general overview of pidgins and creoles. She gives the historical beginnings of Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley and a brief look at the sociolinguistic situation there. She then goes on to present the analysis of some grammatical features of Kriol and compares them with traditional Australian languages. The final section of this monograph is looking at lexemes and discussing etymology. The author points out some of the problems involved in assigning etymons to Kriol words. This section highlights the contrast of meaning between Kriol lexemes and the English words normally equated with them, noting that it is in this area that we find the cause of so many miscommunications between Kriol and English speakers.

I believe this monograph is a significant contribution to the study of pidgins and creoles and we are glad for the opportunity to present it in our Work Papers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements xi

Abbreviations xiii

0. Introduction 1

1. The Language and Its Speakers 5
    - 1.1 Pidgins and Creoles 5
    - 1.2 The Languages at Fitzroy Crossing 8
    - 1.3 Historical Sketch of Adult Pidgin 10
    - 1.4 Entrance of Kriol 13
    - 1.5 Attitudes to Kriol 15
        - 1.5.1 An Identity Language 16
        - 1.5.2 A Rejected Language 18
        - 1.5.3 Sociolinguistic Summary 19

2. Preliminary Notes 21
    - 2.1 Orthography 21
    - 2.2 Tense, Mood and Aspect 28
        - 2.2.1 Tense 28
        - 2.2.2 Mood 31
        - 2.2.3 Aspect 33
    - 2.3 Verb Morphology 34
        - 2.3.1 Transitive Marker 34
        - 2.3.2 First and Third Order Suffixes 39
        - 2.3.3 Second Order Suffixes 41
    - 2.4 Pronouns 43
    - 2.5 Topicalisation and Tagging 45

PART ONE - GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS 49

Introduction 49

3. Prepositions 50
    - 3.1 Prepositions in Verbal Clauses 50
        - 3.1.1 Subject and Object 53

3.1.1.1 Subject 54
3.1.1.2 Object 55
3.1.2 {*Blanga*} 'Dative' 57
3.1.3 {*Langa*} 'Locative' 60
3.1.4 *Fo* 'Purposive' 64
3.1.5 *From* 'Ablative' 65
3.1.6 {*Garra*} 'Associative' 66
3.1.7 Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages 68
3.2 Prepositions within the Noun Phrase 70
3.2.1 {*Blanga*} 'Dative' 70
3.2.2 *Fo* 'Purposive' 72
3.2.3 {*Garra*} 'Associative' 73
3.2.4 The Lexeme *laika* 75
3.2.5 Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages 76
4. Verbless Clause Types and Their Transforms 77
4.1 Verbless Clause Types 78
4.1.1 Ascriptive and Equative Clauses 79
4.1.1.1 Ascriptive$_1$ Clause 80
4.1.1.2 Ascriptive$_2$ Clause 80
4.1.1.3 Equative Clause 81
4.1.2 Locative Clause 82
4.1.3 Possessive Clause 85
4.1.4 Associative Clause 86
4.1.5 Equational Clause 88
4.1.6 Existential Clause 92
4.1.7 Ambient Clause 94
4.1.8 Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages 94
4.2 Verbal Transforms of Verbless Clauses 98
4.2.1 The Copula *Bi* and Ø 98
4.2.2 *Stap* 'Stay' 101
4.2.3 *Git* 'Become' 104
4.2.4 *Jidan* 'Sit' and *Jandap* 'Stand' 106

4.2.5 *Abam* 'Have, Possess' and *Gedam* 'Obtain, Procure' 108

4.2.6 An Alternative Analysis for {*Garra*} 109

4.2.7 Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages 111

5. The Morpheme *Jelp* 114

5.1 Reciprocal 116

5.2 Reflexive 118

5.3 Restrictive 120

5.3.1 Agent Exclusive 121

5.3.2 Minus Causal Agent 121

5.3.3 Agent Individual 123

5.4 Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages 124

PART TWO - SEMANTIC ASPECTS 126

Introduction 126

6. Etymology 129

6.1 Difficulties which Arise in Assigning Etymons 129

6.1.1 Homophony 129

6.1.2 Conflation 130

6.2 Lexemes Derived from Walmajarri 131

6.3 Lexemes of Uncertain Origin 133

7. Lexemes and Associated Concepts 136

7.1 Concepts from Walmajarri Transferred to Kriol Forms 136

7.1.1 Taxonomy 137

7.1.2 Kinship 139

7.1.3 Time and Space 140

7.1.4 Attention and Perception Verbs 141

7.1.5 Culture-Specific Lexemes 144

7.2 Concepts Introduced through English 146

7.2.1 New Items 146

7.2.2 New Categories 147

7.2.3 New Activities 148

7.2.4 Concept and Form Mismatched 149

8. Lexemes Involving Grammatical and Collocational Changes 151
  8.1 Grammatical Changes 151
    8.1.1 Word Class 151
    8.1.2 Transitivity 152
    8.1.3 Valency 153
  8.2 Collocational Changes 155
    8.2.1 Verb-object 155
    8.2.2 Idiom 157
    8.2.3 Semantic Categories 157

Conclusion 162
Appendix 1 - Kriol Texts 165
Appendix 2 - Excerpts from Adult Pidgin Texts 176
Notes 179
Bibliography 185

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There are several people without whose encouragement and influence this study would have never begun. Firstly, my friend and colleague in Walmajarri (previously Walmatjari) studies, Eirlys Richards, whose interest in the Aboriginal children's language of Fitzroy Crossing predates mine and who influenced me to study it. Her support throughout has been invaluable. Secondly, there are the children themselves especially Pauline and Maureen Downs, Sharon Kaylions, January Uhl and Sandra George who chatted with Eirlys and me in Kriol over the years and who were the first to be persuaded to speak 'blackfella way' onto the tape recorder back in 1975. Through their desire to share their many daily adventures we came to appreciate Kriol as a colourful and graphic language. Thirdly, my fellow members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics especially John and Joy Sandefur with their enthusiasm for Kriol and the Aborigines who speak it. Another who was instrumental in getting this project under way was Professor R.M.W. Dixon who made it possible for me to attend the Australian National University and study toward an M.A. degree.

Once the project was launched these same people each continued to help. During my field trip in 1981, the group of children mentioned above spent many hours teaching me to talk and welcomed me to their marbles, cards and other games thus providing an introduction to this otherwise elusive language. Those who helped in formal language learning were Bernadette Willian, Diane Brooking, Anne Nuggett and Mabel Laurel, and their assistance cannot be overestimated. Most days Bernadette brought her two year old son Shaun, whose smile and delightful personality helped make this project a very pleasant one.

The chairman of the Kulkarriya Community School Board, Ginger Costaine, also contributed by giving me access to the Kriol speakers at Noonkanbah, welcoming me for a stay with the school teachers there and himself providing some valuable insights into the origin of Kriol in the area. Others who had personal knowledge of Kriol and encouraged me in various ways were Carolyn Davey and Kathleen and Jonathan Bates.

In the analysis and writing I have benefited from the help of my supervisors at the Australian National University Drs. Karl Rensch and Harold Koch, and I would like to thank them for their comments throughout and especially for finding time to read many chapters in the midst of the end of year rush. I have also appreciated the comments from my examiners Professors J.T. Platt and R.M.W. Dixon which were helpful in preparing this thesis for publication. Again I wish to mention Eirlys Richards, John and Joy Sandefur who responded to my pleas by mail, checking the accuracy of some of my assumptions as they read early drafts and filling in some gaps in my data.

The study has been greatly assisted by the financial help from the Australian National University for field trip expenses and from the Commonwealth Department of Education who made available a Postgraduate Course Award.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accessory
ASSOC ~ A	associative
att	attain
AUX	auxiliary
COL	collective
COMIT	comitative
COP	copula
DAT ~ D	dative
DIR	direction
DU	dual
E	English
EM	emphasis
EQ	equational
ERG	ergative
EX	exclusive
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future
HES	hesitative
IN	inclusive
INCHO	inchoative
IND	indefinite
intr	intransitive
ITER	iterative
K	Kriol
Lit	literally
LOC ~ L	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
NP	noun phrase

O	object
ONOM	onomatopoeic form
P	possessive
PL	plural
POT	potential
pred	predicate
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PURP	purposive
REDUP	reduplicated form
REFL	reflexive/reciprocal
REL	relator
S	subject
SG	singular
TAG	tag
TOP	topic
tr	transitive
TR	transitive marker
W	Walmajarri
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
Ø	used where the absence of a morpheme is significant
---	stands in for the morpheme *ting* in English translation (see Appendix 1)
...	some text omitted

Work Papers of SIL-AAB
Series A Volume 8

GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF FITZROY VALLEY KRIOL

Joyce Hudson

0. INTRODUCTION

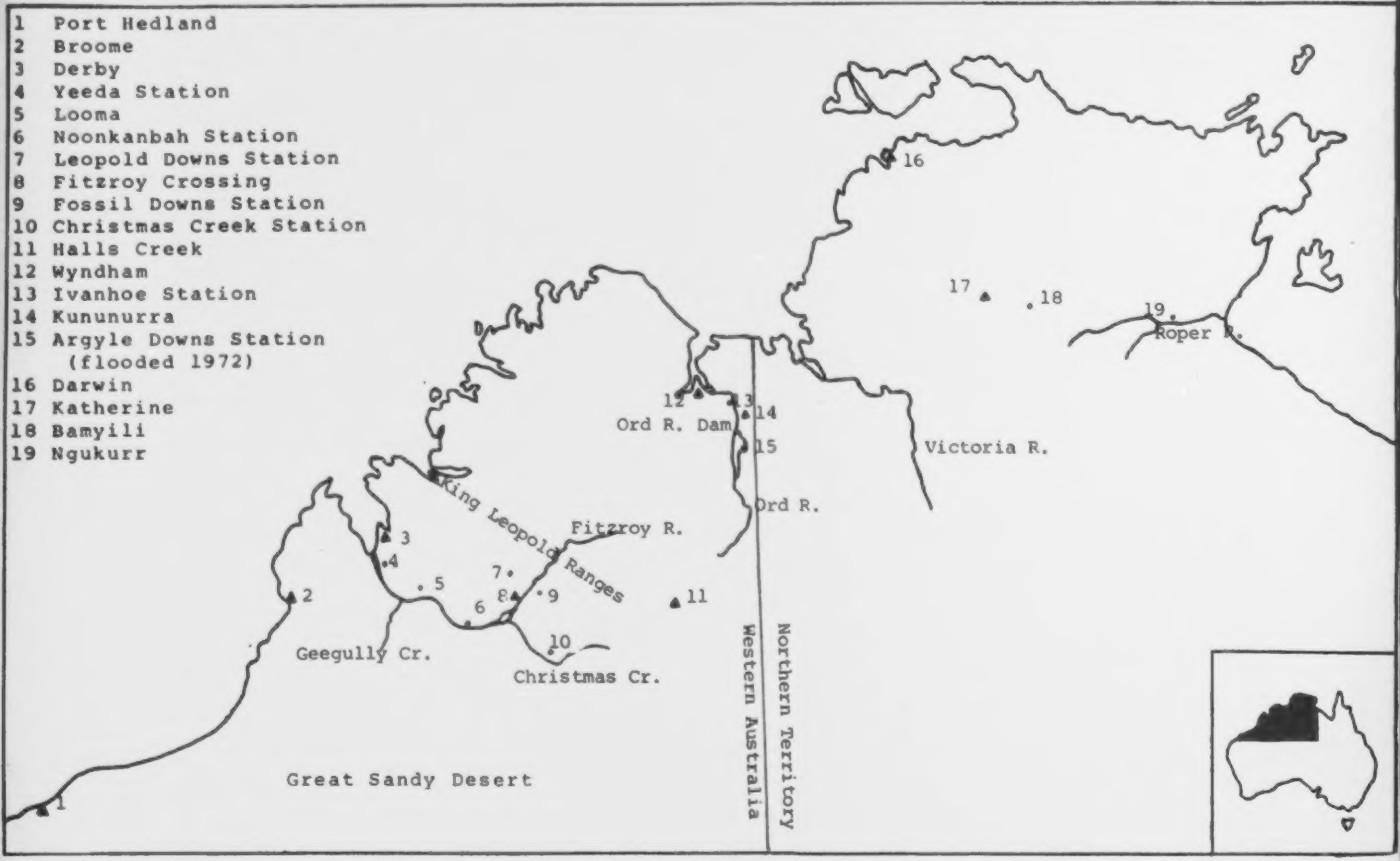
The choice of topic for this monograph has come after many years of residence in Fitzroy Crossing and prolonged firsthand observation of the changes taking place in the language of the children in the area. There have been changes of many kinds in the life of this small town since I arrived in 1967. The most notable linguistically has been a continuing takeover by the English-based creole (Kriol) which has displaced the traditional languages,[1] first for those who attended school and subsequently for all youth ranging from toddlers to young adults. During this time the focus of my linguistic activities has been a depth study of Walmajarri, one of the traditional Australian languages of the town. My exposure to Kriol has been incidental (before 1981) but over the years a very strong, though subjective impression has been formed in my mind that I was hearing the same concepts and grammatical structures in Kriol as in Walmajarri. So I welcomed the opportunity to study Kriol in depth, in order to check out my impressions with empirical evidence. Comments in the literature have encouraged me to follow this line. Dixon in his volume on Australian languages says: 'There is need for intensive study of Aboriginal English, by linguists familiar with the structure of native Australian languages; none has yet been undertaken' (1980:75). Creolists have made similar remarks such as the one by Bickerton: 'Another largely unfilled need is that for comparisons between pidgin or creole languages and related non-European languages.... Studies which attempt to embrace a wide variety of grammatical phenomena, such as Camden's comparison of South Santo with New Hebrides Bislama ..., are all too rare' (1976:174).

As most descriptions of English based creoles have been from the perspective of English and in terms of deviations from it, I have preferred to treat Kriol as a separate language and draw on my knowledge of traditional Australian languages, especially Walmajarri, wherever it provides parallel features. These are presented, not as evidence of genetic relationship, but to draw attention to them and provide data for those whose interest is in this area. My approach has been to analyse Kriol as an independent system and not to draw on the analysis of English. It is vital for a correct interpretation of all that follows that this be understood. Although English is referred to when it seems useful for ease of description, it is not considered the standard against which the grammar of Kriol is to be measured.

The variety of Kriol described here is referred to in the title as Fitzroy Valley Kriol. This has been used to distinguish it from a general Kimberley Kriol. Such specification of the dialect has been necessary because data from other areas of the Kimberleys was not included in the corpus. On the other hand, to refer to the Fitzroy Crossing dialect would be too restrictive. By Fitzroy Valley is meant the area along the Fitzroy River south of the King Leopold Ranges west to Geegully Creek as well as east along the Christmas Creek. It includes communities as far west as Looma, as far east and south as Christmas Creek Station and north to Leopold Downs Station. The town of Fitzroy Crossing is the largest population centre of the area.

Languages which were spoken by Australian Aborigines before European settlement are usually referred to in the literature as Australian Languages (Dixon and Blake 1979). In most situations this term serves very well, yet there are three categories of languages which today could be considered 'Australian': Aboriginal languages, local varieties of English and languages spoken by immigrants. This is demonstrated in Michael Clyne's volume ***Australia Talks***. In describing Kriol the question arises whether it is to be considered an Aboriginal language or a dialect of English, for one can argue that a language spoken by Aborigines is an Aboriginal language. Throughout this monograph reference will be made to the non-English-based languages spoken by Aborigines. To distinguish them from the English-based Kriol and from other languages now spoken in Australia, I will refer to them as traditional Australian languages and use the abbreviation TA languages.

The first two chapters are of an introductory nature and the rest are divided into two main parts of three chapters each. Part One includes an analysis of some grammatical features and in each chapter features from TA languages are presented and compared with the Kriol analysis. Part Two is presented, not as a detailed semantic analysis, but as an attempt to highlight the contrast of meaning between Kriol lexemes and the English words normally equated with them. It is in this area of


1 Port Hedland
2 Broome
3 Derby
4 Yeeda Station
5 Looma
6 Noonkanbah Station
7 Leopold Downs Station
8 Fitzroy Crossing
9 Fossil Downs Station
10 Christmas Creek Station
11 Halls Creek
12 Wyndham
13 Ivanhoe Station
14 Kununurra
15 Argyle Downs Station (flooded 1972)
16 Darwin
17 Katherine
18 Bamyili
19 Ngukurr
King Leopold Ranges
Fitzroy R.
Geegully Cr.
Christmas Cr.
Great Sandy Desert
Ord R. Dam
Ord R.
Victoria R.
Roper R.
Western Australia
Northern Territory

the lexicon that the cause of many miscommunications between Kriol and English speakers is to be found.

Chapter 1 provides introductory information about pidgins and creoles generally, the historical setting and arrival of Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing, and a brief view of the sociolinguistic situation there. In Chapter 2 the spelling conventions used here and a few grammatical features are included as background for the interpretation of examples and glosses. In Chapter 3 I present the prepositions of Kriol and show how they function in a system which reflects the case systems of TA languages. In Chapter 4 these prepositions are shown as they function in clause types without a verb. When tense or aspect needs to be specified, transformation to a clause with a verb is necessary and the small group of verbs involved are described also. A single lexeme is used to signal both reflexive and reciprocal actions and this is described in Chapter 5. The similarities between Kriol and TA languages, particularly Walmajarri, are noted at the end of each main section in Part One. Chapter 6 introduces the study of lexemes with a discussion on etymology and some of the problems involved in assigning etymons to Kriol words. Chapter 7 focuses on semantic change which can be explained through concepts relating to the cultures of Walmajarri and English. Those changes which are most easily seen in terms of grammar are described finally in Chapter 8. Two appendices are included: the first is a selection of Kriol texts and the second some excerpts from Adult Pidgin texts.

Examples are given interlinear glosses where grammar is in focus, i.e. Chapter 2 and the whole of Part One; but in Part Two such glosses are not included unless it is necessary for an understanding of the sentence. Examples are numbered for ease of reference and in sections where Walmajarri and Kriol examples are both given, the languages are distinguished by the letter W or K respectively following the example number.

The data were collected in the first six months of 1981 in the Fitzroy Crossing area, mainly in the town itself. Although only one station, Noonkanbah was visited for formal research, population movement between stations and town is such that contact was not restricted to people living in those two communities.

CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 PIDGINS AND CREOLES

For definitions of the terms pidgin and creole we can safely follow DeCamp, a recognised authority in this field since the first Conference on Creole Language Studies in 1959. DeCamp (1971a:15) defines ***pidgin*** as 'a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages'. A ***creole***, by contrast, 'is the native language of most of its speakers'. Pidgins and creoles have been classed according to the language with which they share vocabulary and described mainly in terms of deviation from that standard language (Labov 1972:10f, Malcolm 1979: 85). Most that have been studied are based on, or share vocabulary with, one of the European languages: English, Spanish, French, Portuguese or Dutch.

Terminology has been developed to describe pidgins and creoles and some which may need explaining here are superstratum, substratum and the continuum. ***Superstratum*** is the dominant language from which the vocabulary of a pidgin/creole is taken and which is considered a target language of those who speak the pidgin/creole (Whinnom 1971:106). ***Substratum*** refers to the subordinate languages. In North Australian creoles the superstratum language is English and the substratum languages are those spoken traditionally by Aborigines. Because of the influence from substratum and superstratum languages, variation is greater in creoles than in standard languages and DeCamp developed the concept of a scalable ***continuum*** of variation to describe this. Labov took a different approach in his work on 'Black English' of the northern cities of U.S.A. He concluded that there were clearly two separate but closely related systems rather than variation within a single system (1971:448). In the same article (p.416) he rejects the concept of the continuum as providing an adequate description of variation. 'The variants can be assigned to separate, co-existent systems as Tsuzaki and Reisman have done. But the actual work of separating such systems can only be done on a body of vernacular conversation, and this step Creolists have not yet taken.'

In 1975 Bickerton further defined the continuum in his analysis of Guyanese Creole and described the continuum in terms of ***lects***. The ***basilect*** is the 'pure' creole furthest removed from the superstratum language and the ***acrolect*** is the speech closest to the superstratum language. These two are at the extreme ends of the continuum of speech linked by a series of ***mesolects***. By this method he was able to describe the creole as a single, though not homogeneous, unit and not a number of different systems as had been proposed by Labov. Bickerton showed that the speakers of Guyanese Creole can all be located on the continuum and change within it according to factors such as their social aspirations and educational level in relation to the standard (superstratum) language.

By 1977 DeCamp concluded, 'Most linguists now concede that variation must be accounted for in any adequate theory, but there is still no agreement on how to describe the variable speech behaviour of even one speaker, let alone an entire community of speakers. Labov's variable rules have been very successful in describing statistically the mass speech behaviour of groups of speakers, but they do not account well for the interrelationships between variables or for what goes on in the mind of the speaker.' (p.16) He goes on to point out that the continuum concept had not yet been adequately tested on empirical data.

In this monograph I have taken the Ngukurr-Bamyili speakers' recognition of 'light' and 'heavy' varieties of Kriol and make reference to these as end points on a continuum but, while acknowledging the need for it, have not attempted any more ambitious work on variation. At the same time I do not claim to have described any one sub-system which may be postulated along the continuum. Rather I have selected features of interest which are typical of Kriol as a whole and described them giving variant forms but not statistical social correlates.

DeCamp used the term ***post-creole speech continuum*** to refer to the speech of a community in which creole is in the process of merging with a standard language. This has provided terminology to deal with one of the possible alternative final stages in the life cycle of a creole. DeCamp says, 'A pidgin may develop, often rapidly, from a mere auxiliary vehicle for minimal interlingual communication into the native language of most of its speakers.' He goes on to give four basic alternatives for the final stages. 'A creole can continue indefinitely without substantial change ... it may become extinct ... it may further evolve into a 'normal' language ... finally it may gradually merge with the corresponding standard language' (DeCamp 1971a:349). Whinnom uses the term ***decreolisation*** for the process of merger where a creole is, in time, transformed to be a dialect of the standard language (1971:111).

Though not always using these terms, some investigators have considered the Australian creole (Kriol) to be in the process of merging with the standard language, English, i.e. it is in the process of decreolising, best described as a post-creole continuum (Sharpe and Sandefur 1977, Steffensen 1979, Kaldor and Malcolm 1979). From my observations at Fitzroy Crossing, however, it would seem that Kriol is an ongoing language with many young people fluent in both Kriol and English. Those who consider Kriol to be merging with the standard have no doubt observed the increased use of English by children as they learn it in school. Naturally once they have acquired English they will use it with English speakers but it is wrong to assume that this implies an accompanying loss of Kriol. In everyday social interaction with members of his own community the bilingual will continue to use Kriol, switching to English when appropriate. This recognition of bilingualism assists us in separating the two languages but does not remove the need to study Kriol itself as a continuum. Recently Sandefur has changed his view and written an article (1982b) refuting his claim of 1977. He says that the criteria set down by DeCamp for decreolisation are not being met for Kriol and that any apparent decreolisation could be represented as a continuum similar to that in the speech of any individual learning a second language.

The origin of pidgin and creole languages has been much debated because of the similarities found in them regardless of substratum influences which have nothing in common. Hall was one who considered that each pidgin/creole arose independently and developed along parallel lines. This became known as the polygenetic theory. In the 1960's an alternative theory was introduced.

Whinnom, Taylor and others claimed that all Indo-European based pidgins/creoles have come from a common proto-pidgin, a Mediterranean Lingua Franca. Known as the monogenetic theory, it includes the notion that relexification from this proto-pidgin took place whenever the language came in contact with another Indo-European language, i.e. the vocabulary of the proto-pidgin was replaced by the vocabulary from the dominant Indo-European language in each area while the structure of the pidgin remained the same. In the 1970's the universalist theory was introduced into the debate (Kay and Sankoff). This theory purports that the reason for the similarities found throughout the world's pidgins and creoles is due to the presence of linguistic universals and implies that similarities (except for vocabulary) would be found also in non-Indo-European based pidgin/creoles. Articles continue to appear debating each of these origin theories.

In Chapter 1.2 and 1.3 I will try to show that Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing did not develop there through a pidgin stage but was introduced from outside as an already developed creole. Development since has been independent of the main language with considerable influence from English and local traditional Aboriginal languages. This is supported by the loss of some vocabulary items listed in the dictionary of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979). I believe they are used in Halls Creek also but are unknown to speakers of Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing (those under 35 years). Mature adults are familiar with them though I have not heard them used. A few such words are given below.[2]

geman	'falsehood, lie'
biginini	'child'
binji	'stomach, belly, intestine'
sabi	'know, understand'
kraingki	'mad, insane, foolish'
gajolaim	'grab, hold, embrace'

The question of universal pidgin features, though of interest, would lead to a very different project from this one so has not been attempted here in any detail. A brief study of works on other pidgin/creoles reveals immediately areas of difference from and similarity with Kriol.[3]

1.2 THE LANGUAGES AT FITZROY CROSSING

The English-based language spoken by Aborigines in the Kimberley area of Western Australia has been mentioned in the literature by several writers from at least as far back as the 1930's. It has been referred to as Pidgin or Pidgin English (Kaberry 1939, Fraser and Richards 1975, Hudson and Richards 1976, Fraser 1977 and Vaszolyi 1979), 'so-called Pidgin English' (Douglas 1976:14), close to a 'true creole' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1979:412), creole (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980) and Kriol (Sandefur 1982). In a recent report of a survey of pidgin and creoles in the Kimberleys, the Sandefurs conclude that it is 'the same creole language as that spoken in the Roper River and Bamyili areas of Northern Territory, i.e. Kriol' (1980:35).[4] From my own study I conclude that there are two different English-based varieties spoken in the Fitzroy Crossing area, one basically the same as Kriol spoken in the Northern Territory and the other a pidgin of uncertain origin. I have attempted to isolate the Fitzroy Valley dialect of Kriol and in later chapters describe features of that dialect only, thus excluding both the pidgin of the same area and Kriol spoken elsewhere.

In order to identify Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley, I first present details of the rather complex language situation of the area. There are many languages spoken in the town of Fitzroy Crossing including several traditional languages, two varieties of a pidgin/creole type and several varieties of English. The last mentioned are spoken by the Europeans, many of whom have recently arrived and have come from a wide variety of different social and educational backgrounds, as well as the old timers who have been around for many years and who speak a colloquial outback variety of Australian English. These English varieties will not be referred to again but deserve mention at this point as they are an essential part of the linguistic picture in the town.

The valleys of the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek form a natural boundary between the Great Sandy Desert and the Kimberley area. The Aborigines who lived in these areas before European contact belonged to different language families. Those who lived in the desert immediately south of the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek spoke languages of the Pama-Nyungan family, Walmajarri and Mangarla; and those of the river country were speakers of non-Pama-Nyungan languages, Bunaba, Gunian, and Nyigina.[5] There was probably very little, if any, peaceful contact between the desert and the river country people at that time. This is reflected today in a continuing rivalry and at times animosity among the youth and children of the Fitzroy Crossing area who have divided into two opposing groups. Those descendants of the northern tribes, Bunaba and Gunian, are sometimes referred to as the ***Gramagrama*** (from 'man' in Bunaba) and those from the desert tribes and Nyigina are known by the somewhat unexpected name of ***Riversidemob***. Among the residents of Fitzroy Crossing today, one can find speakers of each of the languages mentioned above. Bilingualism and multilingualism is common among adults though those from the desert have rarely learned the language of the river people and the river people rarely are bilingual in a desert language. The exception to this is in cases of intermarriage.

The two varieties of pidgin/creole-type were noted also by Fraser who describes their distribution as 'one used by adults without formal schooling and with an Aboriginal first language; and the other as the first language of the children' (p.145). The children she refers to and who provided her with data in 1974 have since become adults so that the dialect she described is the one now spoken by young adults as well as children. For ease of reference I will call the speech analysed by Fraser ***Kriol*** and the other variety ***Adult Pidgin,*** reserving the unqualified terms creole and pidgin for more general reference.

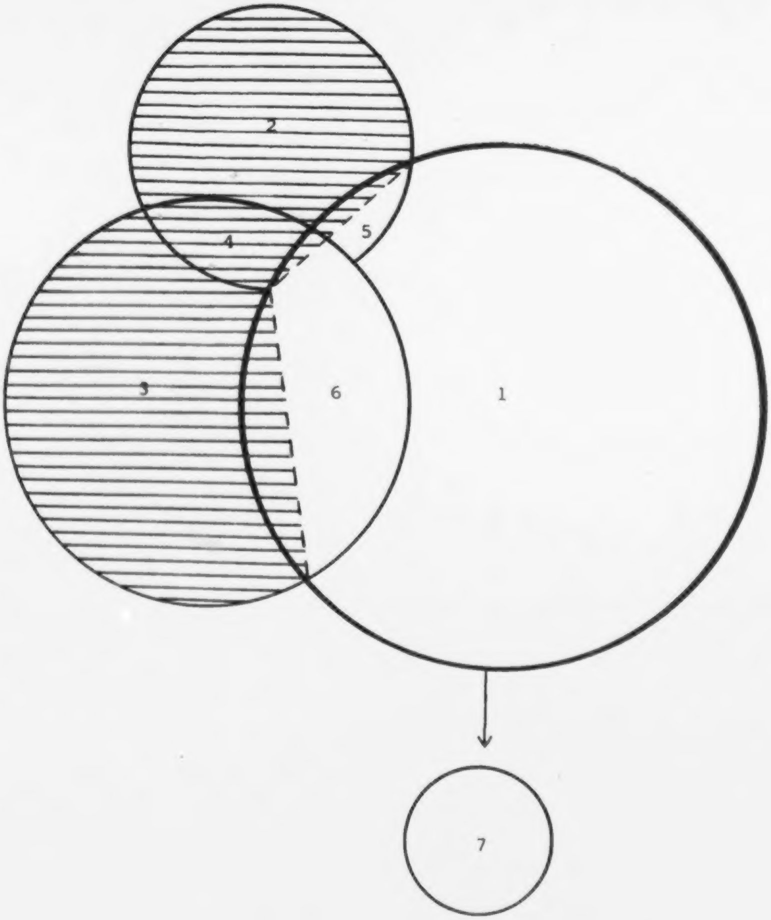
In Figure 1.2 I have attempted to present the situation graphically. The size of the circles indicates very approximately the proportion of speakers in the community who speak the languages indicated. The numbers represent linguistic groupings as defined in the list below the diagram. Overlapping of circles represents the amount of bidirectional bilingualism between the groups. English is separated because bilingualism is unidirectional, i.e. many Kriol speakers have learned English but the number of English speakers who have learned one of the others is so small as to not show up on a scale such as this. The shaded area represents the Adult Pidgin which is a second language to almost all. Its overlap with Kriol is unspecifiable from present knowledge as indicated by the dotted line at the edge of the shaded area.

1.3 HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ADULT PIDGIN

Historical evidence of Adult Pidgin is insufficient to prove exactly how or when it arrived in the Kimberleys, but the facts support my hypothesis that the two English-based languages have come into the Fitzroy Valley at different times and possibly from different sources. The Kimberley district was settled from two different directions. Areas in the east, present day towns of Wyndham, Kununurra and Halls Creek were settled by Europeans coming from the east of the continent in the 1880's. The leaders in this were the Durack family who brought cattle and set up the Argyle and Ivanhoe stations on the Ord River and soon after them others came to look for gold around Halls Creek. The West Kimberley was opened up for settlement after the explorations of Alexander Forrest in 1879 and settled by people coming from the south (Perth). They brought sheep and the first station established was Yeeda belonging to the Murray Squatting Company. The Earl of Kimberley was Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time. The towns of Broome and Derby were gazetted in 1883. Charles MacDonald, who came from the east, explored further south and west than others had done and set up the Fossil Downs Station not far from the present town of Fitzroy Crossing, midway between Derby and Halls Creek. The settlement at Fitzroy Crossing was apparently declared a town about 1904 but not gazetted for some years after.[6]

It could have been these early settlers and their workers who brought pidgin into the Kimberleys. Another possibility is that it was brought in later by groups of Aborigines who migrated west in circumstances such as those described by Shaw (1979:265). After two generations of contact between Aboriginal civilisation and European settlement there was much conflict around the Victoria River area of the Northern Territory. Aborigines began moving away from this unhappy situation, mainly to the east but some moved to the west and the relative peace of the Durack stations in the East Kimberley. The presence of an English-based language is not mentioned by Shaw.

FIGURE 1.2



1. Kriol speakers
2. non-Pama-Nyungan language speakers bilingual in Adult Pidgin
3. Pama-Nyungan language speakers bilingual in Adult Pidgin
4. Bilinguals in non-Pama-Nyungan and Pama-Nyungan languages
5. Bilinguals in non-Pama-Nyungan languages and Kriol
6. Bilinguals in Pama-Nyungan languages and Kriol
7. English

The most specific early references to the English in use by Kimberley Aborigines are in Kaberry's writings of the 1930's. She wrote about the languages in use around Halls Creek, and in the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek area. In 1937 she said that the majority of Aborigines on cattle stations at that time spoke good idiomatic English although elsewhere in the article she gives a quote which reads more like pidgin. In 1939 she said, 'The natives have been in contact with the whites for over forty years; they are remarkably fluent in a pidgin-English which differs from that current in New Guinea, and approximates much more closely to spoken English' (1939:x). Although she gives no hint as to the source of the pidgin she does imply that it had been in the area for some time before her arrival there in 1935. Another author who makes passing reference to the presence of pidgin early in the century is Biskup who gives an anecdote about the lack of communication between police and Aborigines (1973:33). I have been unable to find any reference in the literature to the language brought by those who came from Perth, but some of the old people who grew up in the Fitzroy Valley claim that they learned 'proper' English from the whites then. They contrast it sharply with Kriol spoken today.

The historical facts above suggest that pidgin came into the Kimberleys from the east. On the other hand, Vaszolyi presents a very different picture. He supports the view that Aborigines in the Fitzroy River area learned English from the settlers rather than pidgin and at the same time suggests that a pidgin came to the Kimberleys through the port towns. Describing the origins of Pidgin English in Australia, he says that it probably spread 'in and from North Australian coastal settlements' but in reference to the Kimberleys specifically he imples that instead of spreading inland it remained in use only in the coastal towns. He says, 'Inland-bound people who spent most of their time on stations with cattle as stockmen or farmhands would not normally speak much Pidgin: apparently, they acquired some sort of an English from the colonial masters rather than Pidgin. It gives one the impression that the presence of Asian ethnic minorities and European seafarers in North Australian settlements contributed greatly to the spread of Pidgin' (1976:52f). It seems that Vaszolyi is describing a coastal Kimberley pidgin rather than a general Kimberley pidgin. I find no indication that he is aware of the situation in Fitzroy Crossing today for again in 1979 he writes about pidgin in the Kimberleys with reference only to the coastal towns. He also comments that there are now very few Aborigines who could not speak some English with or without an Aboriginal accent (1979:254f). Yet another possible influence which needs to be considered is that of the Macassans who are reported to have visited the Kimberleys in the 19th Century (Urry and Walsh 1979:22).

Although the origins of pidgin in the Kimberleys are uncertain, we can establish from Kaberry that one was in use in the Fitzroy Crossing area in the 1930's. This must have been the same as the Adult Pidgin spoken today and would have been learned by the desert dwellers who began moving in the 1940's from the Great Sandy Desert in the south. The Walmajarri people had made contact with those on stations south of the Fitzroy River and along Christmas Creek and began moving north to them during the Second World War. They were followed some years later by another group, the Yulbaridja or Wangkatjungka who came from further south and moved in beside the Walmajarri people. The friendly contact between these two groups is obvious from the high degree of intermarriage and bilingualism among them. One of these desert men, who made his first white contacts as a boy of about 12 in the 1940's and who is now fluent in both Kriol and English, told me that they had to learn pidgin in order to talk to the whites. (This would seem to be the case since they had no need of it among their own communities on the stations.)

As contact between the station Aborigines in the south and those north of Fitzroy Crossing (at that time Bunaba and Gunian) became more frequent, the pidgin would have become needful among Aborigines as well as with whites. However there is little doubt that, except for a few families living in the town, the traditional languages still predominated in the camp situation of all tribal groups until the 1950's. It appears that this was not the case in Halls Creek where Kriol had become an established language by the 1940's for most of the Aboriginal community.

1.4 ENTRANCE OF KRIOL

In the 1950's several changes occurred which had far reaching effects on the languages of the area. In 1952 the United Aborigines Mission was established at Fitzroy Crossing. Soon after they set up a hostel for Aboriginal children from the surrounding stations who would attend school in the town (then run by the Mission). The first Government school in the area was established at nearby Gogo station in 1957. These two schools set out to teach English and the hostel management, according to reports from some who were children there, established a rule that children were forbidden to speak their TA language while at the hostel (see Appendix 1-Text E). At this stage probably all but the town children spoke their parents' language and knew a little Adult Pidgin. These town children, whose parents worked for whites at one of the few establishments in the town—Post Office, Police Station, Hospital, Hotel or Mission—had by this time apparently lost any traditional language and were speaking only Adult Pidgin, though their parents retained fluency in other languages. Evidence of this different behaviour of town children is seen in a small number of people in their later 30's who claim to have never learned a TA language and who all grew up in the town.

And so the stage was set for the children of the area to develop as bilinguals, learning English at school and hostel and continuing to use and develop their skills in the TA languages during holiday times. Alternatively, as they were from a variety of language backgrounds, they could have developed a new lingua franca among themselves which would be acceptable to the English-speaking staff.[7] Before there was time for either of these to develop, a truckload of Aborigines arrived from Halls Creek whose common language was Kriol.

The hostel children were in immediate and direct contact with these new arrivals so learned Kriol from them. The history of the migration (except for reference to language) has been documented by Biskup (pp.100-106). In 1910 the Government established a cattle station which served as an Aboriginal ration station at Moola Bulla near Halls Creek and the next year another at Violet Valley. These were set up to provide a regular supply of meat to Aborigines and so stop them spearing the settlers' cattle. When Moola Bulla passed out of the hands of the Government into private ownership in 1955, the large number of Aborigines was not desirable on the station so many were put on a truck and sent to Fitzroy Crossing to the ration station there which was administered on behalf of the Government by United Aborigines Mission. Testimony from both groups, those resident at Fitzroy Crossing at the time and those who arrived in the truck and have since returned to the east, are in agreement that this was the means of introducing Kriol to Fitzroy Crossing. Because the children were in the hostel and school it was they who were most influenced by this new language/dialect rather than their parents on the stations who already spoke Adult Pidgin.

The language spoken by adults today varies with the individual. Based on the above information, we can ascertain that those who speak Kriol should be in the age group of 40 years or less, i.e. those who were under 14 years and so at primary school in 1955 or since that time. As many older children in those early years did not attend school at all, I believe 35 is a more realistic upper limit of those who speak Kriol. It is, of course, not a clear-cut issue as there are those over 35 who speak it and those under 35 who barely control it. Most of those over 35, who came from south of the river and whose contact with station life has been recent (since 1930's), speak the Adult Pidgin often believing it to be English. Those of longer contact, mainly from Bunaba, Gunian and Nyigina tribes, are able to speak a variety much closer to English. Kriol, the product of the hostel and school environment, has no doubt had an influence on the Adult Pidgin but such details have been beyond the scope of this work. Excerpts from three Adult Pidgin texts are given in Appendix 2.

For the purpose of this description I define the Fitzroy Valley dialect of Kriol as the language of Aborigines born since 1945 who live in the town of Fitzroy Crossing and its satellite station communities. For many it is a ***primary*** language and for others a ***secondary*** language. In using these terms I am following Mühlhäusler (1974:13). The primary language is the one best mastered by a bilingual in contrast to other languages which are secondary. Because Kriol was the second language learned by many, yet is now the one they control best, terms such as first language or mother tongue would only lead to confusion.

Since Kriol arrived at Fitzroy Crossing, there has been limited contact with the Kriol speakers in the Halls Creek area because medical and other services are linked westward with the port town of Derby rather than with Halls Creek which is further inland. For the last decade a sealed road has also encouraged contact with Derby. One of the effects of this has been that Kriol in Fitzroy Crossing has developed somewhat independently under constant influence of English through the schools and traditional languages in the camps.

I have no formal evidence that Kriol has extended west of Fitzroy Crossing area except as it is used in Derby by those who visit there from the east. Vaszolyi's references (1976, 1979) to a coastal Pidgin indicate that Kriol had not then reached Derby or Broome. The work done by Kaldor and Malcolm also suggests that it has not moved further west. Their data is from the whole State and they say, 'A speech variety which comes closest to a 'true creole': is spoken in the central and east Kimberleys' (1979:412). Several features are noted by them as being typical of the Kimberleys and examples given are all from the central and eastern Kimberley towns. Among these creole features are the prepositions ***la*** and ***gotta*** (their spelling), transitive verbal suffix ***-im*** as well as the pronoun system. Unfortunately, because of the limited scope of this monograph and the time available, I was not able to include any comparison with speech in use today at Halls Creek, Derby or Broome.

1.5 ATTITUDES TO KRIOL

Until recently the attitude of almost all in the Kimberleys was that Kriol was a form of English to be despised. Various adjectives have been used to describe it—rubbish, broken, bastardised, corrupt—all with negative connotations. The situation is by no means limited to Kriol: indeed similar terms have been used of pidgins and creoles the world over (Hancock 1977:277). Those who speak Kriol as their primary language have apparently shared this view, and as soon as they mastered English in school they quickly learned to code-switch, using English with English speakers and Kriol among themselves. The result of this was that whites generally only heard natural Kriol from the children who were still too young to know the difference between it and English.

During my 14 years in the area I have witnessed attitudes of both white and black and have seen the very fast changes that have taken place in language attitudes and use. While sifting through old data recently I was able to construct a linguistic history sketch of two sisters. M... was born in 1968 and P... in 1971 so that I have known them all their lives. Their parents speak several traditional languages as well as Adult Pidgin. In the early 1970's when M... was in the early grades of school both these girls spoke mainly Kriol with some Walmajarri, and were probably not aware of the Kriol/English distinction. By 1978 M... at 10 years had been at school for several years and was beginning to speak some English. Her language sensitivity had been aroused and she realised that English was different from what she spoke and that English was held up as the desirable goal. In a conversation with both girls recorded on tape in 1978, M... tried her best to speak English, while P... at 7 years was speaking uninhibited Kriol. Later, this year (1981), M... had reached reasonable proficiency in English through her formal education while P... was now at the stage of knowing enough English to reach for it as her goal in speech with whites. Recorded stories from them both this year revealed that P... is now striving for English while M..., now reasonably secure in both languages, was easily able to switch from English to Kriol and did so quite consciously. When P... realised that I not only approved of Kriol but actually was trying to speak it, she soon lost her reservations with me and spoke in Kriol too.

1.5.1 AN IDENTITY LANGUAGE

Knowledge of Kriol is a sign of identity with the community and it is expected that Aborigines will speak Kriol with each other and English with whites if they can. Several young men have married women from the south of W.A. where there is no Kriol spoken. These women speak English but have learned Kriol since moving north and were able and willing to give Kriol stories on tape. One of their husbands who has an excellent command of English said to me, 'When my wife first came she used to make me really ashamed. She could only talk like a 'whitefella'. Now she's learning to talk like a 'blackfella'.' A young woman confirmed the attitude of not using English among themselves saying that, 'It's not okay for blacks to speak English to each other.' She recounted an experience where she was speaking to a white woman using English and her friends nearby were laughing at her, making fun of her for speaking 'high' English, a sign of snobbery. On the other hand, there seems to be no objection to accepted whites speaking Kriol. Among those adults who belong to the under 35 year age group and who speak Kriol as their primary language, I found none who disapprove of it being studied or written.

The conscious awareness of the difference between Kriol and English showed up in some stories recorded during fieldwork. Several times after I had requested a story in Kriol from someone who didn't know me well, they started speaking in English. Those standing nearby, seeing that the wrong variety was being used, would call out corrections. Here are some examples taken from transcribed texts. The first two involved girls of 12 and 9 years respectively.

2 x 12 year old girls:

A. One day when we saw a snake -

B. *Tok diskainwan, 'Mela bin siyim sneik.' Laik wotkain wilat tokin.*

'Say it like this, "..." the way we all talk.'

2 x 9 year old girls:

A. We went to -

B. *Na. Nat laiyet. 'Mipala bin go -'*

'No. Not like that. "..."'

These are in contrast to a 'light' variety of Kriol which is quite acceptable to all. The main features that identified these speakers as using English were the form of the verb and intonation: monotone with a slight pause between words and with even stress on each word. In editing one text for inclusion in Appendix 1 my informant removed the English element by changing all occurrences of 'with' to *garra* 'didn' to *neba*. The next example is a mother correcting her son who is 9 years old.

Son. *Wi bin go la Debi en Denyul en mi bin hev a heyakat.*

'We went to Derby and Daniel and me had a haircut.'

Mo. *Mi en Denyul bin abam heyakat.*

The next example is not a correction but illustrates that some 8 year olds (A) are able to clearly differentiate between the two languages. The comments were addressed to me (B) in an informal situation.

A. *Wen i bin kam from Nosmin, i bin tokin, 'Come on girls let's go to the store,' en wen is sista bin kraying, 'Come on Roslyn let's get some more stuff.' Nat tudei.*

'When she came from Norseman, she used to talk like this, "..." and when her sister would cry she would say, "..." But not now.'

B. *Tudei wot i sei?*

'How does she talk now?'

A. *I tok blekfelawei.*

'She talks Kriol.'

B. *Det gudwei blekfelawei?*

'Is Kriol a good way to talk?'

A. *Ya. Bat samting sweya ting laika rud ting.*

'Yes, but there are rude swear words.'

Those whose primary language is a traditional one also switch codes between Adult Pidgin and their TA language. I was able to document an example of this when out hunting one day with a group of women and children. The women are all Walmajarri speakers who are able to use Adult Pidgin (or Kriol). During the day, the talk between them was all in Walmajarri but if addressing children they used Adult Pidgin provided the conversation was controlled. If a reprimand was needed or a command had to be shouted Walmajarri took over for all three; and the children, who speak only Kriol, all understood. In flowing Walmajarri speech sometimes a clause in Adult Pidgin would be used to paraphrase one in Walmajarri—possibly a means of emphasis.

1.5.2 A REJECTED LANGUAGE

Kriol continues to be rejected by most for whom it is not their primary language. Some older Aborigines reject it. When offered a copy of a story written in Kriol, one man indignantly remarked, 'We don't talk that language, we talk English like the whites do. You have to go to New Guinea for that. We don't say *langa* all the time.' In all honesty it must be said that this man does not speak Kriol but his own approximation of English as he strives to learn it as a second language. Aborigines generally were influenced toward greater acceptance of Kriol by the Sandefurs when they visited the area in 1979. They alerted people to the fact that Kriol is spoken in distant places, by adults as well as children. They also brought the news that Kriol is approved of in the Northern Territory enough, not only to write it, but to use it in the school at Bamyili.

The strongest criticisms of writing Kriol (which implies giving it status as a 'true' language) have come from monolingual whites, or from Aborigines who speak English and for whom Kriol is not their primary language. Many of these make reference to 'teaching the people another language when they should be learning English'. The comment reveals that they consider Kriol and English to be mutually exclusive and have failed to realise the possibility of bilingualism. These critics would no doubt be displeased to hear that in the eyes of some older Aborigines, Kriol is taught at school. Such attitudes are by no means restricted to Australians; similar situations are described in many countries where creoles are spoken. DeCamp says of creoles that 'if the equivalent European language is also the standard language of the community, the creole is especially unlikely to be granted status as a real language' (1971a:26). Labov, writing about black children in the U.S.A., speaks of the poor understanding educationists have of the nature of language when they treat children who speak non-standard dialects as if they have 'no language of their own' (1972:202).

It is of interest to note that the recently formed Aboriginal Languages Association at its inaugural meeting in Alice Springs in February 1981, made the following statement about Kriol (quoted from their Newsletter): 'There are many Aboriginal languages. As well as the ancient languages, there are new Aboriginal languages such as Kriol and Torres Strait Broken which has been spoken in some areas for up to four generations and various forms of Aboriginal English which are vigorous. They are languages in their own right.'

1.5.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SUMMARY

The situation, so briefly described above, indicates the need for a full sociolinguistic study in the Fitzroy Crossing area. It has not been included here being outside the scope of the project and because of the lack of time and finance. From my observations it appears that bilingualism, code-switching and the so-called post-creole continuum relate directly to the degree of English education of individuals. Those who have been right through the primary and high school systems have a good command of English and Kriol and are confidently bilingual. (Many also control a TA language.) Those still at Primary School and those who are adults but were unable to complete their schooling for some reason, as well as adults over 35 years generally do not control English and their English-based speech varies part-way along a continuum between

Kriol and English. They adjust their speech as close to the standard as they are able when talking to whites and back towards Kriol (or switch into a TA language) when with their own countrymen. There is a group monolingual in Kriol also. These are the pre-school children and those in the lower grades of school who have not yet learned the difference between Kriol and English. C. Young, in an unpublished thesis, finds similar divisions in the Belize Creole community. There they are based not on education alone but also on occupation: school teachers and second generation civil servants are confidently bilingual in Creole and English, manual labourers are monolingual in Creole and first generation civil servants, who are in between, are partially bilingual with a continuum between their Creole and English.

CHAPTER 2

PRELIMINARY NOTES

Before detailed analysis and data is presented, this chapter is given to introduce the spelling system used in the examples and some of the commonly occurring grammatical features which are not described elsewhere. This section is not intended to be a full analysis of these features but rather an introductory look at the morphemes and the glosses assigned to them to enable better understanding of examples in which they occur. The orthography is described first followed by notes on tense, mood and aspect; the morphology of the verb; pronouns; and finally two features of discourse analysis, topicalisation and tagging.

2.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

Writing pidgins and creoles presents more problems than writing other languages. Variation of pronunciation along the continuum causes difficulty if a phonemic orthography is used and, although the well established spelling system of the standard (superstratum) language could be used, to do so is to make the pidgin/creole look like a confused mixture of the standard rather than a separate system. Both these alternatives have been used in the literature. Mihalic, writing about Tok Pisin in 1957 (then called Neo-Melanesian), listed nine different orthographies in use for that language, three of which used English spelling, three used some phonemic representation and the others used a combination of these two. In Australian literature the pidgin/creole of Aboriginal speech has been represented by both methods. English spelling is used as in Durack's ***All-About*** where the title represents the 3rd person plural pronoun. Another example is from Gunn's ***The Little Black Princess of the Never-Never*** (p.66) 'Me tired fellow alright, Missus'. Adjustments were made to many words to indicate the basilectal pronunciation especially in grammatical functor words such as *bin* and *longa* in 'Me bin knock up longa trousa' (Gunn p.14). Others attempted a more phonetic representation but continued to include some English spelling as in 'You puttem medichin in heye?' (De Grys p.181). For a work such as this monograph which involves linguistic analysis, there can be little value in using any system based on English spelling though it has been done by researchers such as Kaldor and Malcolm who avoided using phonetic transcription for the sake of readers untrained in linguistics (1979:415).

The concept of a continuum described earlier can assist in the linguistic description of the phonology of pidgins and creoles but it provides little help for spelling. Kriol forms a continuum with the phonological contrasts of TA languages in the basilect and the standard Australian English system in the acrolect. Speech of any individual at any given time can be placed at some point along the continuum between these two systems. For an analysis of the phonology of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects see Sandefur 1979. In writing Kriol one is faced with the choice of spelling each utterance as it is pronounced or using some form of standardisation and disregarding variation.

In the Northern Territory two ends of the continuum are recognised by Kriol speakers and identified by the terms 'light' (acrolect) and 'heavy' (basilect). I have found no evidence in Fitzroy Crossing of the use of terms equivalent to 'heavy' and 'light' for reference to speech styles within Kriol. Speakers tend more to distinguish between 'high' English which is standard English and 'blackfella' English which includes Kriol and Adult Pidgin. However both 'light' and 'heavy' pronunciations are certainly used. Although my main language teachers tended to speak a 'light' variety with me, reference to correct pronunciation or spelling would usually result in a switch to 'heavy' with a comment, 'You can say it both ways'. The 'heavy' pronunciation then seems to identify it as Kriol.

With the beginning of literature production for Kriol in the Northern Territory in the early 1970's decisions as to the spelling had to be made. In 1976 a group of Kriol speakers who participated in a Kriol Writers Course selected an orthography based on phonemic principles. This orthography as it is given in Sandefur (1979:61f) is quoted in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. Along with these symbols five spelling conventions were adopted. The first allows for words to be spelt the way the writer speaks regardless of dialect, idiolect or range on the continuum, so that 'sleep' can be written in any of its four pronunciations: ***jilib, jilip, silip,*** or ***slip***. Another requires standardisation of spelling for morphemes which commonly occur in compounds and the other three deal with proper names, punctuation and reduplication.

FIGURE 2.1 CONSONANTS IN KRIOL (N.T.) ORTHOGRAPHY

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Alveolar	Retroflexed	Alveopalatal	Laminopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	vcls	p			t	rt		tj	k	
	vcd	b			d	rd		j	g	
Affricates	vcls						tj			
	vcd						j			
Fricatives	vcls		f	th	s		sh			h
	vcd		b	th	s		s			
Nasals		m			n	rn	ny		ng	
Laterals					l	rl	ly			
Rhotic					rr	r				
Semi-Consonants		w				r	y			

FIGURE 2.2 VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN KRIOL (N.T.) ORTHOGRAPHY

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	e:	o
Low	e/a	a	o:

ai	low central to high front
oi	mid back to high front
ei	mid front to high front
au	low central to high back

The spelling system used in this monograph is basically the same as the Northern Territory orthography but with slight differences in representation of vowels. A five-way distinction has proved adequate, i, e, a, o, u, but three diphthongs have been added, ui, ou, oa. I have also attempted to standardise spelling rather than write each example according to the specific pronunciation used by the language teacher. To gain some degree of regularity in this process I have followed the general principle used for Bislama, the ***lingua franca*** of Vanuatu as given by Camden: '...for those phonemes where there is no generally accepted realisation, ... the form of the cognate in the language from which the Bislama root was derived is followed' (1977:ix). Adapted here for Fitzroy Valley Kriol this means that where there is a pronunciation in general use by speakers from all levels of the continuum, this will be used. It applies usually to words from the closed classes, e.g. ***dis*** 'this', ***dijan*** 'this one', ***det*** 'that', ***tharran*** 'that one', ***dupala*** 'two'. Where there is no predominant pronunciation, the phoneme from the assumed English etymon will be used. In the case of Walmajarri loan words, the Walmajarri spelling will be used as in Hudson 1978. These loans will be identified in examples by the letter (W) following the interlinear gloss. Where 'heavy' Kriol avoids consonant clusters by addition of vowels or deletion of a consonant, these forms will be used unless there is strong evidence from the data that a cluster ('light' Kriol) is used by most speakers.

Stress is not written either in the Northern Territory orthography or in this monograph. The general tendency is that Kriol follows the traditional languages and stresses the first syllable in words of two or more syllables as in:

kápardi	'drink of tea, mid-work break'
núgudwan	'bad, useless'
búrluman	'cattle (singular)'.

Some words retain the stress pattern of the English etymon particularly those which in English begin with a consonant cluster.

blanket	>	***bilángkirr***
sleep	>	***silíp***

Others vary according to the speaker and the 'light' versus 'heavy' varieties.

purdéita	~	*púrdeita*	'potatoe'
banána	~	*bánana*	'banana'

A phonological analysis of the Fitzroy Crossing dialect of Kriol was published in 1977 by Fraser who calls it Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin. She makes reference to the continuum but attempts to isolate the basilect and present it in a Pikean-type analysis. Her basilectal consonant inventory includes consonants typical of TA languages but with three notable differences. She includes the phoneme /s/ which would appear to have been absorbed into the basilect from English and she does not find the full series of inter-dental or laminal phonemes. Figure 2.3 shows the basilect consonants from Fraser's analysis (1977:151) using orthographic symbols from my Figure 2.1. (Note that voicing is not contrastive here.) In my own data, the same set of phonemes has been found in 'heavy' speech. The consonant phonemes which occur in 'heavy' Kriol of the Fitzroy Valley but not in standard Australian English are found in the following words.

ny	*nyubrij*	'new bridge' - refers to the recently constructed bridge over the Fitzroy River
	minyu	'we (dual inclusive)'
	anyin	'onion'
rn	*lernam*	'teach (tr)'
	bernam	'burn (tr)'
rd	*yard*	'yard'
	kard	'card'
	kardam	'cart (tr)'
	purdeita	'potato'
	kapardi	'drink of tea, mid-work break'
rl	*orla*	(plural particle)
	orlataim	'frequently, all the time'
	maburl	'marble'
	burluman	'cattle (singular)'
rr	*tharran*	'that one'
	bagarrap	'become useless (intr)'
	tarra	'tata - goodbye'

FIGURE 2.3 BASILECT CONSONANTS

	Bi-labial	Inter-dental	Alve-olar	Retro-flexed	Lamino-palatal	Velar
Stop	p	th	t	rt	tj	k
Nasal	m		n	rn	ny	ng
Fricative			s			
Lateral			l	rl		
Rhotic			rr			
Semi-consonant	w			r	y	

2.2 TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT

Tense, mood and aspect are important categories in any language, yet they provide a very complex area for analysis. Kriol is no exception to this as many morphemes cannot be defined in terms of any one of the three systems. For example, tense and aspect is combined in some, while others indicate both mood and tense. For purposes of this sketch I will divide the morphemes according to their more obvious meaning.

2.2.1 TENSE

Events can be described in Kriol in relation to the time of speaking. If it is desired to specify that an event took place before the moment of speaking, the verbal auxiliary *bin* is used before the verb with no change in the verb form.

(2-1) *Ai bin go Debi*
1:SG:S PST go Derby

'I went to Derby.'

In some verbless clauses *bin* can be used.

(2-2) *Mela bin anggri*
1:PL:EX PST hungry

'We were hungry.'

Where past habitual or customary events are being described, *bin* is not obligatory with every verb but can be omitted after the first verb or first paragraph when the time orientation has been established.

(2-3) *Longtaim wen ai bin lidil, ai siyim sneik, ai*
long:time when 1:SG:S PST little 1:SG:S see snake 1:SG:S

gedam ston, en ai tjakam langa det sneik
get stone and 1:SG:S throw LOC that snake

'A long time ago, when I was a child, if I saw a snake, I used to get a stone and throw it at the snake.'

A more specific auxiliary *yusda* is available for placing habitual events in the past (i.e. they are no longer performed). *Bin* is not usual with *yusda*, though the two can co-occur.

(2-4) *Dei yusda plei-bat la hastel*
3:PL used:to play-ITER LOC hostel

'They used to be playing at the hostel.'

Habitual action can be specified by the use of one of the following adverbs: *orlataim, orlas* and *ebritaim.*

(2-5) *Ai bin gow-in skul orlataim. Afdatharran ai orlas*
1:SG:S PST go-PROG school always after:that 1:SG:S always

kambek en abam dina en go plei-bat garra orla kid.
come:back and eat dinner and go play-ITER ASSOC PL child

'I used to go to school every day. After school I would come back and have dinner then go and play with the children.'

In the negative construction, where *neba* negates the verb, the past tense *bin* does not normally occur.

(2-6) *Mipala neba gedam shuga*
1:PL:EX NEG get sugar

'We didn't get sugar.'

An aspect of completion is included in the meaning of *bin* but this is not easily distinguished from past time. It is with the negative that this completive meaning can be seen. In the next example the time reference is past and the first car is said to have not broken down during the whole time of ownership. Contrasting to that, another car is said to have not broken down for a period, which is now completed, and the current situation is described in positive terms. The *bin* is obligatory with the second negative but not allowed with the first.

(2-7) *Wi bin abam det motika fo longtaim en i neba*
we PST have that car PURP long:time and 3:SG:S NEG

breikdan det najawan motika wi bin abam fo longtaim en
breakdown that other car we PST have PURP long:time and

i neba bin breikdan bat tudei i orlas breikdan
3:SG:S NEG PST breakdown but now 3:SG:S always breakdown

'We had one car for a long time and it never broke down. We had another car for a long time and it didn't break down for some time but now it always breaks down.'

Two morphemes place an event after the moment of speaking. They are *garra* and *-l* and both are glossed 'potential' (POT). The first, *garra,* is an auxiliary with a combined tense-mood meaning of probable, potential or future action often with an implied obligation. Situations which have not happened at the time of speaking but which are envisioned by the speaker as very likely to happen are marked by *garra*.

(2-8) *Ai garra kukum dempa*
1:SG:S POT cook damper

'I will cook the damper.'

In discourse, *garra* is used when describing a procedure such as when telling someone how to play a game.

(2-9) *Fes yu garra putum detlat faib ting la yu finga ...*
first 2:SG POT put those five thing LOC 2:SG hand

'First you put those five things in your hand ...'

The probability implied in *garra* is clearest in a warning.

(2-10) *Yu garra foldan*
2:SG POT fall

'You're sure to fall.'

Compare this with a less emphatic warning.

(2-11) *Yu mait foldan*
2:SG might fall

'You might fall.'

The second morpheme of future time *-l* is restricted to use with the first person subject pronouns and is suffixed to the pronoun, producing two forms *al* and *wil* no doubt from English 'I'll' and 'We'll'. Its meaning is that the action is probable and likely to take place in the immediate future.

(2-12) *If yu showum mi hospil, a-l gibim yu mani*
if 2:SG show 1:SG:O hospital 1:SG:S-POT give 2:SG money

'If you direct me to the hospital, I'll give you money.'

An event which is not specified as to its place in time, i.e. any habitual, customary or hypothetical event, is not marked by either of the tense auxiliaries.

(2-13) *Naitaim dei kamat. Dei falaram-bat yu biyain wen yu*
night 3:PL come:out 3:PL follow-ITER 2:SG behind when 2:SG

wok-in jelp
walk-PROG REFL

'At night (the ghosts) come out. They follow you when you walk alone.'

2.2.2 MOOD

Some verbal auxiliaries convey mood only, but many include a time orientation and are intrinsically negative or positive as well. Those which can be combined with the past tense *bin* are *labda, masbi, maitbi, nili, wanda*. All but the last two can also combine with the potential *garra*.

The etymology of *labda* deserves mention here. It appears to have been derived from English -ll have to as in I'll have to go now. The separation of the *-ll* from the subject pronoun and its reassignment to the modal can be seen in example (2-14), where *labda* occurs initially and the subject pronoun plus tense follows.

(2-14) *Labda wi-l stat masteram*
must we-POT start muster

'We'll have to start mustering.'

(2-15) *Wi bin labda kemp rait deya*
we PST must camp right there

'We had to camp right there.'

(2-16) *I masbi garra kilim det sneik*
3:SG:S might POT kill that snake

'He might kill the snake.'

(2-17) *I maitbi garra go la Debi*
3:SG:S might POT go LOC Derby

'He might have to go to Derby (to visit a sick relative).'

(2-18) *Yu wanda kam fo raid?*
2:SG want come for ride

'Do you want to come for a ride?'

(2-19) *Wan boi bin nili herdam det gel*
IND:SG boy PST nearly hurt that girl

'A boy nearly hurt the girl.'

Others have time orientation lexicalised within the morpheme and cannot be combined with either *bin* or *garra*. They are *les, kin, kan, don, masn*. The last three are intrinsically negative.

(2-20) *Les go*
let's go

'Let's go.'

(2-21) *Ai kin isi duwum*
1:SG:S can easy do

'I can do it.'

(2-22) *Masbi i kan kam*
might 3:SG:S can't come

'Maybe he won't come.'

(2-23) *Don idim det rabijwan*
don't eat that bad:thing

'Don't eat that bad food.'

Contrafact *shudbi* has a past form *shuda* and a negative form *shudn*.

(2-24) *Yu shudbi wajam-bat jelp*
2:SG should wash-ITER REFL

'You should wash yourself.'

(2-25) *Det wota shuda git hat nau*
that water should become hot now

'The water should have heated by now.'

The negative *neba* is the most general. It negates the proposition in a non-future time orientation. If it negates a past event it is not combined with *bin* unless the negative situation is viewed as complete. Other negatives are *nomo, nat* and *no*. *Nomo* is used by mature adults where younger people use *neba*. When asked about *nomo* negating the verb, language teachers commented, 'Some old people say it that way, but I don't'. In the speech of those under 35 *nomo* is heard but it tends to be restricted to phrase level where it implies an opposite.

(2-26) *Dijan rein nomo lilbit, i bigwan*
this rain NEG limited 3:SG:S big

'This rain is not a little, it's a lot.'

Nat negates a noun or adjective but not a verb.

(2-27) *Dis dempa i nat kukwan*
this damper 3:SG:S NEG cooked

'This damper is not cooked.'

No refers to quantity and means 'zero'. It negates a noun.

(2-28) *Wi garram no shuga*
we ASSOC NEG sugar

'We have no sugar.'

2.2.3 ASPECT

Aspects are of three categories. Those which are verbal affixes are described in 2.3; two are separate words which follow the verb and nine are verbal auxiliaries and precede the main verb.

Pinij 'completive aspect'. By using the completive aspect morpheme *pinij*, the speaker indicates that the action of the verb continued on for a period, then ceased.

(2-29) *I bin wok-in pinij. Tu lid bin gidin la im*
3:SG:S PST walk-PROG complete two lead PST enter LOC 3:SG:O

'He was walking, then wham: two pieces of lead entered his body (by magic).'

If the verb is not durative, it means the event was final and complete.

(2-30) *I bin drap pinij*
3:SG:S PST collapse complete

'He collapsed and didn't get up again (for a long time).'

Najing 'in vain'. When the result of an activity is predictable from the verb itself or from context, *najing* can be used to indicate that it was carried out without the desired result (see also 7.1.4).

(2-31) *Mipala bin tjak-in-abat najing. Neba bin gedam*
1:PL:EX PST throw-PROG-ITER in:vain NEG PST get

'We cast our fishing line(s) for a long time without success; we got nothing.'

The aspectual auxiliaries which precede the verb are *kip* ~ *kipgoun*, *stil*, *yet*, which all indicate continued action; *jes* 'limitation', *stat* 'incipient - action begun', *stap* 'cessation', *trai* ~ *trayinda* 'attempt'.

(2-32) *Dei kipgoun bayam-bat taka*
3:PL continue buy-ITER food

'They continued to buy food.'

(2-33) *Ai stil garra go*
1:SG:S still POT go

'I still intend to go.'

(2-34) *Det krik neba ran-in yet*
that creek NEG run-PROG yet

'The creek is not flowing yet.'

(2-35) *Dei bin jes stat masteram hos*
3:PL PST just start muster horse

'They just started to muster the horses.'

(2-36) *Dei garra stap masteram tudei*
3:PL POT stop muster now

'They will stop mustering now.'

(2-37) *Wi bin trayinda go riba*
we PST try- go river

'We tried to go to the river (but the car broke down).'

2.3 VERB MORPHOLOGY

The Kriol verb consists of a stem and three orders of suffixes, all marking either transitivity or aspect. They are displayed in Figure 2.4. In the first order there are two morphemes *-Vm* transitive marker and {*-in*} progressive aspect. Although it is possible to get a transitive verb in the progressive aspect these two morphemes cannot co-occur and the progressive aspect takes precedence when both meanings are needed. This allows for ambiguity in a very small number of verbs but in most cases it is clear from context or from the semantics of the verb stem. The second and third order suffixes are all aspectual.

2.3.1 TRANSITIVE MARKER

Transitive verbs are normally marked by the first order suffix *-Vm*.

(2-38) *Det dog bin bait-im mi*
that dog PST bite-TR 1:SG:O

'The dog bit me.'

It can be omitted from those verbs which have an intrinsically transitive underived stem provided three conditions are met.

(1) The object must be overtly stated in an NP.

(2-39) *Ai bin kuk sam dempa*
1:SG:S PST cook some damper

'I cooked some damper.'

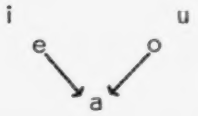
FIGURE 2.4 VERBAL SUFFIXES

	1st Order	2nd Order	3rd Order
Stem	*-im* transitive marker	*-ap* upwards, forceful, extensive action	*-bat* iterative aspect
	-in progressive aspect	*-at* towards a goal, cessation	
		-bek reversal, reciprocal	
		-dan downwards, termination	
		-in in, inside	
		-(a)raun motion with unspecified direction	
		-(a)wei motion away from	
		-oba on top of an entity	
		-of off, motion down from an elevated entity	

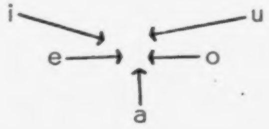
(2) All other verbal suffixes must be deleted also. Forms such as _*id-ap_ 'eat' and _*bait-bat_ 'bite' are not possible.

(3) The resultant stem must be an acceptable phonological shape. The form _*magar_ from *magar-am* 'spoil' is not acceptable because the phoneme /r/ does not occur word finally. In text from speakers at the 'light' end of the continuum there is a tendency to omit the transitive marker more than in text from speakers at the 'heavy' end.

Morphophonemics. There is harmony between the last vowel of the verb stem and that of the suffix *-Vm*. The vowels of the verb stem remain unchanged and that of the suffix varies. If the stem final vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/ the suffix vowel is identical to it: *kil-im* 'hit, kill', *tjak-am* 'throw', *kuk-um* 'cook, heat'. The two mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not pull the suffix vowel to themselves but it falls toward the low central position /a/ as in *greb-am* 'take possession of', *kol-am* 'call, refer to'. In the case of glides, the suffix is the same as the second segment of the glide: *faind-im* 'find, notice', *boil-im* 'boil', *kaund-um* 'count'. These are illustrated below.



The above vowel changes are tendencies only. With many speakers the vowel of the suffix, being unstressed, neutralises to an indistinct central vowel /a/ for all but the high back vowels. For some, even /u/ is lowered and centralised.



For orthographic purposes in this monograph three allomorphs will be written: *-im, -am* and *-um,* the vowel to agree with that in the last syllable of the stem. Where this is a glide, the suffix vowel agrees with the second segment. With stem vowels /e/ and /o/ the suffix vowel will be written /a/.

stil-im	'steal'
tjak-am	'throw'
kuk-um	'cook'

enser-am	'answer'
brok-am	'break'
faind-im	'find'
boil-im	'boil'
kaund-um	'count'

Where the verb is derived from a phrasal verb in English, the transitive marker is placed between the two English elements and the vowel agrees with the preceding vowel as described above.

fil-ap > *fil-im-ap* 'fill'

grow-ap > *grow-um-ap* 'grow, bring up, nurture'

Derivational Features. Almost all verbs are derived from English words and as English verbs are not marked for transitivity they are treated as intransitive when borrowed and a transitive form is derived where necessary by the suffix *-Vm*. Many verbs have both an intransitive and a transitive form. Some stems with intrinsic transitivity require obligatory transitive marking and there are no intransitive counterparts for these. Others are intrinsically intransitive and have no transitive counterpart. A transitive derivation is hypothetically possible for all, since the transitive marker is productive in the language and only semantic implausibility would prevent it. A selection of verb stems are described below grouped according to their transitivity patterning.

Some verbs are intrinsically intransitive and cannot be transitivised. Examples are: *go* 'go, move', *kamap* 'arrive', *kemp* 'sleep, camp', *bogi* 'bathe', *poldan* 'fall', *breikdan* 'breakdown'.

(2-40) *Mela bin kamap from Junjuwa*
1:PL:EX PST arrive ABL (name)

'We arrived from Junjuwa.'

Verbs which are marked as transitive but have no intransitive counterpart are those where the action is only ever performed by an agent on another entity. Some are *lik-im* 'lick', *nak-am* 'hit', *majurr-um* 'muster, gather together', *nidil-im* 'inject'.

(2-41) *Orla kid bin tjak-am ston*
PL child PST throw-TR stone

'The children threw stones.'

The majority of verbs have intransitive and transitive counterparts. Some examples of these are given to illustrate the productivity of this transitivising suffix.

ran 'run' (intr)

(2-42) *Orla kid bin ran raitap la riba*
PL child PST run right LOC river

'The children ran right to the river.'

ran-am 'run into' (tr)

(2-43) *Det motika bin ran-am det dog*
that car PST run-TR that dog

'The car ran over the dog.'

bagarrap 'spoiled, useless' (intr)

(2-44) *Det motika i bagarrap*
that car 3:SG:S spoiled

'The car won't go.'

bagarr-am-ap 'spoil, ruin, make useless' (tr)

(2-45) *I bin bagarr-am-ap mai baik*
3:SG:S PST spoiled-TR-up 1:SG:P bike

'He spoiled my bike (so I can't ride it).'

A small group of verbs describe an act or activity directed by one entity (agent) toward another entity (goal). These can function either transitively or intransitively. Although there is probably some difference of meaning between the two constructions, my language teacher could not verbalise any. The goal of the action is encoded in a locative phrase with the intransitive verb (2-46) and as object with the transitive verb (2-47).

(2-46) *Pipul kin hambag langa yu fo mani*
people can pester LOC 2:SG PURP money

'People can pester for money.'

(2-47) *Dis boi hambag-am-bat as*
this boy pester-TR-ITER us

'The boy is annoying/pestering us.'

As well as deriving transitive verbs from intransitive, *-Vm* can be used to derive a transitive verb from a different word class. This applies to words from within Kriol or borrowed from English. Of those listed below, the first three are derived from nouns and the other from adjectives. The English form, as the source, is given in the first column followed by the Kriol form of the same word class. In the third column the derived verb is given with its gloss.

needle	*nidil*	*nidil-im*	'inject'
torch	*toitj*	*toitj-im*	'shine a light on something'
dust	*dast*	*dast-am*	'cover with dust, overtake, surpass'
jealous	*jelis*	*jelis-im*	'resent, envy'
high	-	*hay-im-ap*	'heighten'
ready	*rudi*	*rudiy-im-ap*	'prepare something'

2.3.2 FIRST AND THIRD ORDER SUFFIXES

The 1st order progressive aspect suffix {*-in*} and the 3rd order iterative *-bat* cannot really be described independently. There is overlap of meaning and therefore an interweaving of distribution and co-occurrence. The shared meaning is that of continuous or durational aspect, i.e. an action is seen to be carried on for a prolonged period of time. The different meanings are identified in the glosses given for each morpheme.

Progressive {*-in*}. First order {*-in*} usually indicates continuous action, but it can have a progressive or imperfective meaning when an action is viewed as being in progress at a given time. This can be at the time of the utterance or at the time identified by a verb in a contiguous clause.

> *Dem kids dei bisi pley-in la trempalin*
> them children 3:PL busy play-PROG LOC trampoline
>
> 'The children are active playing on the trampoline.'

There are two variants of {*-in*}: *-in* and *-ing*. These are not phonologically conditioned and there is no vowel harmony such as occurs with the other first order suffix *-Vm*. For those intransitive verbs derived from English phrasal verbs, progressive aspect suffix can be either between the two elements or at the end of the Kriol stem causing it to alternate between 1st and 2nd orders.

jin-an-ing ~ *jid-in-dan* 'sitting'

jing-at-ing ~ *jing-in-at* 'singing out, calling'

This differs from the transitive marker which is only ever in the 1st Order position. Progressive forms are heard more often in the speech of young people.

The transitive marker *-Vm* and progressive aspect {*-in*} cannot co-occur, e.g. with the transitive verb meaning 'chase', *tjeis-im + in* becomes *tjeis-in* but not **tjeis-im-in* or **tjeis-in-im*. This means that verbs which can have only transitive forms retain their transitivity with progressive aspect even though there is no affix to show it.

(2-48) ***Wi bin tjeis-im orla keinggurru***
we PST chase-TR PL kangaroo

'We chased kangaroos.'

(2-49) ***Wi bin tjeis-in orla keinggurru***
we PST chase-PROG PL kangaroo

'We were chasing kangaroos.'

Iterative *-bat*. The iterative meaning of *-bat* is more common than durative. It can refer to repeated actions or plural participants as in the following examples where the first illustrates repeated action, and the second plural participants.

(2-50) ***Dis motika i bagarrap-bat***
this car 3:SG:S spoiled-ITER

'This car is erratic. It goes for a while and then stops.'

(2-51) ***Dei bin lait-im-ap-bat blanga dem jumok***
3:PL PST light-TR-up-ITER DAT them cigarette

'They were all lighting up their cigarettes.'

The continuous meaning of *-bat* is exemplified in the next example.

(2-52) ***Det kid bin haid-im-ap-bat jelp from det titja***
that child PST hide-TR-up-ITER REFL ABL that teacher

'The child was hiding for a long time from the teacher (until it was too late to go to school).'

Both {*-in*} and *-bat* can be suffixed to the same verb. (The vowel /a/ is optionally inserted between the alveolar and bilabial consonants which would form a cluster when the allomorph *-in* precedes *-bat* as in the next example.)

(2-53) *Mela bin tjak-in-abat, najing*
1:PL:EX PST throw-PROG-ITER in:vain

'We were casting (our fishing line(s)) repeatedly for a long time without success.'

The overlap of meaning with these two aspect suffixes can perhaps best be shown by some examples where two verbs with the same time reference and duration occur in contiguous clauses.

(2-54) *Wi bin siy-im-ba krakadail get-ap-bat*
we PST see-TR-ITER crocodile get-up-ITER

'We were watching crocodiles getting in and out (of the water).'

(2-55) *Det motika shuda kam-in-ap dis-wei get-am-bat taka*
that car should come-PROG-up this-DIR get-TR-ITER food

fo orla penjina
PURP PL pensioner

'The car should come every day and get food for the pensioners.'

2.3.3 SECOND ORDER SUFFIXES

Suffixes of the second order are all derived from English prepositions and in Kriol some carry aspectual meaning. Most are productive though some are heard mainly in verbs which originate from English phrasal verbs (e.g. *jidan* 'sit' from 'sit down' and *jandap* 'stand' from 'stand up). Second order suffixes are listed with the other verbal affixes in Figure 2.4. They are all based on a spatial dimension and the first four have been developed to include aspectual meaning as well.

-ap 'upwards'. Probably derived from English 'up', the primary meaning of *-ap* is that of an action performed in the vertical dimension, upwards. It is glossed 'up'.

klaim-ap	'climb'
bildim-ap	'build (a house)'
jand-ap	'stand'

It extends spatially to include motion toward a physical goal.

draibim-ap	'drive right to a goal'
kam-ap	'move towards speaker'

The aspectual meaning is that of the action carried out to its fullest extent. The next two examples have contrasting forms without the aspectual suffix. Both forms are given.

falaram-ap	'follow to catch up with, track game in order to kill it'
falaram	'move along behind something which is moving'
rulum-ap	'roll up into something small, as a swag'
rulum	'roll along as a drum'

-at 'towards a goal'. The aspectual meaning of *-at* is that the action is performed until a goal or a change of place or state is reached as in the verbs ***wetinim-at*** 'extinguish a fire' and ***kam-at*** 'reach a physical goal'. It is glossed 'attain' (att). The second is illustrated in the next example.

(2-56) *Ai bin kat-am det log en ai bin kam-at la det*
1:SG:S PST cut-TR that log and 1:SG:S PST come-att LOC that

sneik
snake

'I chopped into the hollow log until I reached the snake.'

-bek 'reverse'. The basic meaning of this morpheme is that an entity is seen as being away from another entity or place and returning toward it. It is glossed 'back'.

kam-bek	'return to speaker'
pajim-bek	'pass an item back to its original possessor'

The aspectual extension of meaning includes retaliation or reciprocation and involves two entities. It assumes a previous action which has affected one of them and has been performed by the other. The action is then performed a second time with a reversal of roles, i.e. the agent of the first action becomes patient of the second. Understandably, *-bek* with aspectual meaning can only occur with transitive verbs.

shain-im-bek	'shine a light back at someone in retaliation'
yus-um-bek	'use something belonging to someone else who has borrowed an equivalent thing'

-*dan* 'downwards'. The primary meaning of *-dan* is action performed in a downward direction. It is glossed 'down'.

nakam-dan	'hit something causing it to fall'
go-dan	'go down'

It is extended to include an event which causes the cessation of one state, and, at the same time, change to a different state.

breik-dan	'break down (of vehicle or engine)'
sedil-dan	'cease from some activity'

There are very few examples in the data of the other second order suffixes. No aspectual extension of their meaning has been discovered so far. An example is given of each.

git-in	'enter'
skaiting-aran-bat	'showing off'
teikirr-awei	'take away, remove'
kabarr-oba	'cover over'
get-of	'get off, alight'

2.4 PRONOUNS

The distinctions of inclusive/exclusive and dual number which are features of TA languages are present also in Kriol though the English forms we *(wi)* and us *(as)* are used with the same meaning as they are in English. They are shown as alternative forms on Figures 2.5 and 2.6. There is contrast between subject and object pronouns in 1st and 3rd persons as shown on the charts.

When pronouns follow a preposition, the object form is used except in the case of 1st person dual and plural. If the four-way distinction is not made, the subject pronoun *wi* often follows the preposition.

(2-57) *Tharran motika bla wi*
that car DAT we

'That is our car.'

FIGURE 2.5 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1	incl		*minyu ~ wi (mela)*	*wilat ~ wi (mela)*
	excl	*ai* *a*	*mindupala ~ wi (mela)*	*mela ~ mipala ~ wi*
2		*yu*	*yundupala*	*yupala*
3		*i*	*dupala*	*dei ~ olabat ~ ol*

FIGURE 2.6 OBJECT PRONOUNS

		Singular	Dual	Plural
1	incl		*minyu ~ as*	*wilat ~ wi ~ as*
	excl	*mi*	*mindupala ~ as*	*mela ~ mipala ~ as*
2		*yu*	*yundupala*	*yupala*
3		*im*	*dupala*	*dem ~ olabat ~ ol*

Several people whose work brings them into constant contact with children told me in 1982 that children do not always make the four-way distinction in 1st person but use the plural exclusive form *mela* for all. I have not been able to verify this personally so have included it in Figure 2.5 in brackets to identify it as a possible feature of language change. It would not be surprising if other distinctions, especially duality, should be lost in the future as there is continuing influence from English.

The possessive pronouns are:

main	~	*mainwan*	'my'
yus	~	*yuswan*	'yours'
is			'his, hers, its'
deya			'theirs'

2.5 TOPICALISATION AND TAGGING

Throughout this monograph, there are many examples where topicalisation and tagging are significant and these introductory comments are included to explain the way the terms are used here.

Topicalisation. In Kriol narrative text the constituent containing new information is often given special focus by being moved to the beginning of the clause. In elicited data (and in conversation) this same technique of fronting is used to mark the constituent that is in focus. I will call this process topicalisation following Grimes (1975:337-342). In a discourse, topicalisation may mean that a new participant(s) is introduced (2-61), that one (or a group) is selected for special reference from among participants previously identified (2-58) or a new piece of information is introduced about an already established participant (2-62). In one-clause utterances such as conversation or elicited data, the Topic is the constituent in focus. As the subject is normally the first constituent, topicalisation is identified formally by the presence of the subject pronoun following the fronted NP (noun phrase) and preceding the predicate. This initial pre-subject position is here labelled Topic (TOP).

(2-58)

TOP (S)							S		
Ani	*mi*	*B...,*	*L...,*	*K...*	*en*	*ngaju*	*mipala*	*bin*	*abam*
only	1:SG	(name)	(name)	(name)	and	1:SG(W)	1:PL:EX	PST	eat

kakaji	*fo*	*dina*
goanna(W)	PURP	dinner

'Only me, B..., L..., K... and me, we had goanna for lunch.'

Compare this with a sentence where there is no topicalisation

(2-60) S
Mi, B... en J... bin idim det wotamelin
1:SG (name) and (name) PST eat that watermelon

'B..., J... and I ate the watermelon.'

Examples of arguments topicalised by fronting are subject (2-58), object (2-61), (2-62), purposive (2-63), locative (2-64), associative (2-65) and dative (2-66).

(2-61) TOP(O) S
Najawan gowena na dei bin digimap from hol
another goanna EM 3:PL PST dig:up ABL hole

'Another goanna they dug up from its hole.'

(2-62) TOP(O) S
Gudsaiswan i bin raidim
good:size 3:SG:S PST ride

'A fair sized (calf) he rode.'

(2-63) TOP(PURP) S
Fo frog mela bin lukaran
PURP frog 1:PL:EX PST look:for

'For frogs we looked.'

(2-64) TOP(L) S
Said langa faya wi bin silip
side LOC fire we PST sleep

'At the side of the fire we slept.'

(2-65) TOP(A) S
Garra stik i bin kilim
ASSOC stick 3:SG:S PST kill

'With a stick he killed it.'

(2-66) TOP(D) S
Bla orla kid i bin kukum taka
DAT PL child 3:SG:S PST cook food

'For the children she cooked food.'

Tagging. The final position (labelled TAG) is used to specify additional information about the referent of one of the arguments in the clause. Sometimes tagging serves to highlight the phrase (2-68) and other times it is merely a catch-all where information omitted earlier can be specified as a kind of afterthought (2-69).

(2-67)	S				TAG(S)	
	Orla	*kid*	*bin*	*redi*	*bigmob*	*kid*
	PL	child	PST	ready	many	child

'The children were ready, lots of children.'

(2-68)		S			TAG(S)	
	En	*dei*	*bin*	*densing*	*orla*	*purrku*
	and	3:PL	PST	dancing	PL	old:man(W)

'And they were dancing, the old men.'

(2-69)		S			TAG(S)
	Aftatharran	*ting*	*bin*	*kam*	*blekdoa*
	after:that	HES	PST	come	(name)

'After that --- came, the car with the black door.'[8]

It is possible to combine both topicalisation and tagging as in (2-70) where the object is in Topic position and extra information about it is given in the Tag. Sentence (2-71) topicalises the object and includes a phrase in apposition, while the subject is further specified in the Tag.

(2-70)	TOP(O)		S			TAG(O)			
	Wan	*men*	*dei*	*bin*	*falaram-bat,*	*fo*	*k...*	*fo*	*fatha*
	IND:SG	man	3:PL	PST	follow-ITER	PURP	(name)	PURP	father

'One man they were following, it was K...'s father.'

(2-71)		TOP(O)						S	
	en	*wan*	*bigis*	*bul*	*luk,*	*bigis*	*stiya,*	*i*	*bin*
	and	IND:SG	very:big	bull	EM	very:big	steer	3:SG:S	PST

			TAG(S)
	raidim	*luk*	*N...*
	ride	EM	(name)

'And a very big bull, a very big steer he rode, N... did.'

Noun Phrases in Apposition. It is not uncommon in Kriol for phrases to occur in apposition. The term is used here to refer to a repeated phrase which further defines or identifies the referent, in contrast to phrases within an NP which have a possessive or descriptive relationship to a head noun (see Section 3.2). Phrases in apposition are not normally separated by other elements of the clause as the adnominal phrase and its head often are. Appositional phrases often coincide with the final or Tag position because, apart from the subject, the argument involved usually occurs last. To some extent these two functions of apposition and tagging overlap as they both add information about an entity previously referred to. Examples below illustrate appositional phrases in subject (2-72), object (2-73), locative (2-74), (2-75) and associative (2-76) phrases (see also Text D-10). The appositional phrase is separated off by a comma.

(2-72) TOP(S) S
En dis bigwan mangki, blanga im dedi, i bin telim ...
and this big monkey DAT 3:SG:O father 3:SG:S PST tell

'And this big monkey, his father, he said ...'

(2-73) *I bin abam neim, orla neim, orla kid fo neim*
3:SG:S PST have name PL name PL child PURP name

'(The car door) had a name on it, several names, children's names.'

(2-74) *Sneik kraling la yu, biyain la yu*
snake crawling LOC 2:SG behind LOC 2:SG

'A snake is crawling on you, on your back.'

(2-75) *En mela bin go la mash, la rud*
and 1:PL:EX PST go LOC marsh LOC road

'And we went along the marsh, along the road.'

(2-76) *Orla gel en boi bin nakam-bat jelp garra kura, garra*
PL girl and boy PST hit-ITER REFL ASSOC dung(W) ASSOC

burluman kura
cattle dung(W)

'The girls and boys were hitting each other with dung, with cattle dung.'

PART ONE

GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

Kriol follows its superstratum language English and identifies grammatical subject and object by word order; in the basic clause subject precedes the verb and object follows it. The syntactic relationship of other arguments is identified by prepositions in which it seems to also follow the model of English. A closer look, however, reveals that prepositions in Kriol belong to a closed class which identify the syntactic relationship of arguments to the verb in much the same way as case inflections function in other languages. Kriol prepositions are {***blanga***}, {***langa***}, ***fo,*** {***garra***} and ***from.*** These prepositions function in three ways: in the arguments of verbal clauses, within the noun phrase and in the predicate of verbless clauses. This is displayed in Figure 3.1 where X means that the preposition occurs in that function.

Prepositions functioning in verbal clauses and within the noun phrase are described in the next chapter and their function in verbless clauses is included with the analysis of clause types in Chapter 4. A different type of syntactic relationship is involved with the morpheme *jelp* described in Chapter 5. Participants in the subject may be co-referential with the object in a reflexive or reciprocal relationship or the participants in the subject may be singled out as the only ones involved.

CHAPTER 3

PREPOSITIONS

3.1 PREPOSITIONS IN VERBAL CLAUSES

Case marking is a well documented feature of TA languages. Blake (1977) has provided a description of the morphological means used to express syntactic relations in languages from the whole continent while Dixon (1980) provides a sketch of case markings and the systems in which they function as well as a reconstruction of the case system of proto-Australian. It is hardly surprising that the grammatical relations expressed by case inflections in TA languages are carried over into Kriol.

In the literature there are two basic differences in the use of the term 'case'. Traditionally it was used to refer to the contrasting forms of lexemes (morphology) which changed according to the syntax of the language. More recently it has been applied to categories defined semantically (Fillmore). Nouns, pronouns and adjectives were classified by traditional grammarians according to paradigms of declension for the inflectional categories of case and number. Lyons says, 'Case was the most important of the inflexional categories of the noun, as tense was the most important inflexional category of the verb' (Lyons 1968:289). Though each case was labelled according to one of its principal syntactic functions, it was impossible to find a single label which covered all functions of the case. Thus a traditional grammar would list a set of meanings for every case, such as for Russian the instrument of place, the instrument of time, the instrument of means etc. (See Wierzbicka 1980:xii).

Recently those describing non-Indo-European languages have found it increasingly more important to recognise semantic categories as distinct from the morphologically marked grammatical categories of case. Longacre,

FIGURE 3.1 PREPOSITIONS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

	Verbal Clause	Within NP	Verbless Clause
{*blanga*}	X	X	X
{*garra*}	X	X	X
fo	X	X	—
{*langa*}	X	X	—
from	X	X	—

speaking of studies in Philippine languages in the 1950's and 1960's, says they found 'that grammatical categories such as subject and object must be distinguished from situational categories, such as actor, goal, and site' (Longacre 1976:23). But it was Fillmore who, in his well known article of 1968 'The Case for Case', brought to the attention of linguists world wide the notion of case as an underlying category. He claimed that 'the grammatical notion 'case' deserves a place in the base component of the grammar of every language'. Of English he said, 'Prepositions ... are selected on the basis of several types of structural features and in ways that are exactly analogous to those which determine particular case forms in a language like Latin' (1968:15). Chafe (1970) was also working along similar lines and since that time 'case grammar' has been developed by others; Platt (1971), Cook (1979), Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976) to mention a few.

The semantic categories, or roles of case grammar provide a useful framework for describing the various functions of the prepositions in Kriol as they function in verbal clauses. I will describe them in terms of these semantic roles and syntactic relations but do not attempt a full case grammar analysis of Kriol. It would be profitable in a future study to analyse the verbs in terms of 'case frames' but that is beyond the scope chosen for this monograph. For clarity I will reserve the term 'case' for use where it refers to the traditional morphological category, i.e. case-forms, and 'role' for the underlying semantic categories. It is necessary now to select an inventory of terms suitable for describing these roles. Terms have been developed by the various writers referred to above and Longacre in 1976 (p.25) lists nine different inventories which were in use by that time. It is Longacre's own set which I have used for this analysis. I have found it difficult at times to assign roles, especially when choosing between source and goal, and while using Longacre's role labels, I have sometimes included more traditional terms such as recipient or beneficiary for extra clarity. The roles are listed below with definitions quoted from Longacre (1976:27-34). Two of them (measure and path) have not been used in the analysis.

> 'EXPERIENCER. An animate entity whose registering nervous system is relevant to the predication....
>
> PATIENT. The inanimate entity of which a state or location is predicated or which undergoes change of state or of location; the animate entity which undergoes change of (physical) state or of location....
>
> AGENT. The animate entity which instigates a process or which acts; an inanimate entity which acts (e.g. an astronomical body or the semiautonomous machine). Agents either instigate a process ... or perform an action....

RANGE. The role assigned to any surface structure nominal that completes or further specifies the predicate; the product of the activity of a predicate....

MEASURE. The role assigned to the surface structure nominal which completes a predication by quantifying it; the price in a transfer....

INSTRUMENT. An inanimate entity or body part which an (animate) agent intentionally uses to accomplish an action or to instigate a process; any entity (unintentional with animate) which conditions an (emotional) state or which triggers a change in emotional or physical state....

LOCATIVE. The locale of a predication. This role is more limited in distribution than source, path, and goal which replace it in many frames. The locale of a predication is the place where the predication takes place without implying motion to, from, or across the space indicated....

SOURCE. The locale which a predication assumes as place of origin; the entity from which physical sensation emanates; the animate entity who is the original owner in a transfer....

GOAL. The locale which is point of termination for a predication; the entity towards which a predication is directed without any necessary change of state in that entity; the animate entity who is the non-transitory or terminal owner....

PATH. The locale or locales transversed in motion etc. predications; the transitory owner.'

Since prepositions in Kriol have such a wide range of meaning it has not been possible to select glosses which can, in a word or two, encompass the whole. I have therefore chosen labels traditionally used for morphologically defined case but which, I believe, best capture the function of the prepositions. Details of the meaning in terms of semantic roles are given for each preposition in the description which follows.

3.1.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The two central syntactic relationships of Kriol, subject and object, are identified by word order and not prepositions, but a description of the function of prepositions would be inadequate without reference to these two. They are described first. The phrase under discussion is underlined in examples in this chapter.

3.1.1.1 SUBJECT

The grammatical subject is identified by its position as the closest nominal or pronominal element preceding the verb. This applies regardless of transitivity, and the subject is obligatory in the clause. It has no other identification. Subject can encode the roles of agent, patient, experiencer and instrument. The role of agent can only be encoded in the subject and it is not restricted to subject of transitive verbs as the next two sentences illustrate.

(3-1) *Orla kid bin tjak-am ston*
PL child PST throw-TR stone

'The children threw stones.'

(3-2) *Olabat bin go la riba*
3:PL PST go LOC river

'They went to the river.'

The subject of some intransitive verbs are in a patient role where there is no reference to an agent but the entity is that of which a state or location is predicated.

(3-3) *Wan dog bin stak la parrik*
IND:SG dog PST stuck LOC fence

'A dog was caught in the fence.'

The entity may undergo a change of state or location.

(3-4) *Det kid bin foldan*
that child PST fall

'The child fell.'

(3-5) *Det kap bin dran la riba*
that cup PST sink LOC river

'The cup sank in the river.'

With some attention and corporeal verbs the subject encodes the role of experiencer.

(3-6) *Main bratha bin luk-um wan sneik*
1:SG:P brother PST look-TR IND:SG snake

'My brother saw a snake.'

(3-7) *Wan olmen bin lus la Debi*
IND:SG old:man PST die LOC Derby

'An old man died in Derby.'

Sometimes two roles can be co-referential, i.e. a single participant may be involved in two roles as with the subject of the verb *dran* 'sink'. If the subject refers to a human, that human is at the same time in the role of a patient and experiencer.

(3-8) *Wan kid bin dran la riba*
IND:SG child PST sink LOC river

'A child sank in the river (got into difficulties while swimming).'

If an instrument (including body parts) is used by an agent to perform an action, this relationship is encoded by the associative prepositional phrase but an inanimate entity can occasionally be referred to in the subject where no entity is perceived as agent. The subject then encodes an instrument role according to Longacre's definition because it triggers a change in the emotional or physical state of the patient without itself acting.

(3-9) *Det stik bin pein-im mi*
that stick PST pain-TR 1:SG:O

'The splinter is causing me pain.'

(3-10) *Ston bin nak-am mi*
stone PST hit-TR 1:SG:O

'I stubbed my toe (Lit - a stone hit me).'

3.1.1.2 OBJECT

Like the subject, object is identified by its position. It follows a transitive verb but can be separated from the verb by another argument with some three-place verbs. An exception to this post-verb position is to be found when the object is topicalised and therefore moved to the beginning of the clause (see (2-61) and (2-62)). Object can encode most of the case roles. Verbs of motion and affect which describe actions that bring about a change of location or state typically have an object encoding the patient role.

(3-11) *Wan men bin bring-im-ap orla kid*
IND:SG man PST bring-TR-up PL child

'A man brought the children.'

(3-12) *Det men bin rul-um-ap is sweig*
that man PST roll-TR-up 3:SG:P swag

'The man rolled up his swag.'

Where no change occurs, but the entity (animate) affected is conscious of the action, the role of the object is experiencer.

(3-13) *Det boi bin hit-im wan gel*
that boy PST hit-TR IND:SG girl

'The boy hit a girl.'

For others, goal is encoded as object where the action is directed toward an entity.

(3-14) *Det men bin weit-im is doda*
that man PST wait-TR 3:SG:P daughter

'The man waited for his daughter.'

(3-15) *Ai garra kij-im-ap det stoa*
1:SG:S POT catch-TR-up that store

'I must hurry to catch the store (before it closes).'

Some attention verbs have an object which encodes a source role, where the entity is that from which physical sensation emanates.

(3-16) *Yu bin notis-im det men?*
2:PL PST notice-TR that man

'Did you see that man?'

Some verbs have an object which semantically belongs together with the verb as a natural extension of it. The entity here is in a range role.

(3-17) *Orla kid bin plei hi geim*
PL child PST play he game

'The children played the game called "He game".'

(3-18) *Ai kan kil-am neim bla im*
1:SG:S NEG call-TR name DAT 3:SG:P

'I can't say his name (taboo).'

With some speech verbs, the goal or addressee is encoded in the object. They are ***telam*** 'tell', ***askam*** 'ask', ***enseram*** 'answer', ***gralam*** 'rebuke, growl at', ***juweirrim*** 'swear at', ***kwesjinim*** 'question, ask'. Examples of some are given.

(3-19) *Det men bin tel-am mi "Wot blanga yu neim?"*
that man PST tell-TR 1:SG:O what DAT 2:SG name

'The man said to me, "What is your name?"'

(3-20) *Det boi bin juweirr-im det manga*
that boy PST swear-TR that girl(W)

'The boy swore at the girl.'

(3-21) *Det titja garra gral-am yu*
that teacher POT growl-TR 2:SG

'The teacher will growl at (rebuke) you.'

3.1.2 {*BLANGA*} 'DATIVE'

The preposition {*blanga*} has two other forms. The shortened one is ***bla*** and the long one ***blanganda***. There is no phonological or morphological conditioning but ***blanga*** and ***bla*** are in free variation. The short form is perhaps favoured by children, but the long three syllable form tends to be an archaic one heard only in the speech of mature adults and is a feature of Adult Pidgin.

With some verbs the goal of the action is encoded by the dative phrase. The most obvious is when an action is performed on behalf of another entity (the beneficiary).

(3-22) *Det wumun bin kuk-um dempa bla orla kid*
that woman PST cook-TR damper DAT PL child

'The woman cooked damper for the children.'

(3-23) *Kaman. Wi go lukaran bla det kakaji trek*
come we go look DAT that goanna(W) track

'Come on! Let's look for a goanna track.'

Some action and rest verbs can encode goal with the dative.

(3-24) *Orla kid bin daib bla det tin*
PL child PST dive DAT that tin

'The children dived for the tin.'

(3-25) *I bin weit bla is mami*
3:SG:S PST wait DAT 3:SG:P mother

'He waited for his mother.'

With some verbs the dative phrase appears to be co-referential of goal and source, i.e. the same participant is at the same time the source and the goal of the laughter.

(3-26) *I bin krai blanga is mami*
3:SG:S PST cry DAT 3:SG:P mother

'He cried for his mother (because his mother died).'

(3-27) *Det wumun fil-im jelp peining blanga yapa*
that woman feel-TR REFL paining DAT child(W)

'The woman feels the labour pains. (Lit - feels herself paining in regard to the child.)'

(3-28) *Mela bin laf-in blanga orla kid*
1:PL:EX PST laugh-PROG DAT PL child

'We were laughing at/because of the children.'

With verbs of transfer the dative can encode the source of, cause or reason for the transaction.

(3-29) *Dei bin gibirr-im mani bla det dres*
3:PL PST give-TR money DAT that dress

'They gave money for the dress.'

(3-30) *I bin ow-um-bek det boi blanga is trasis*
3:SG:S PST return-TR-back that boy DAT 3:SG:P trousers

'I gave the boy a gift because of the trousers he gave me before.'

With some mental attitude verbs, the dative encodes a source role.

(3-31) *Dei bin tis-im-bat det gel bla is bratha*
3:PL PST tease-TR-ITER that girl DAT 3:SG:P brother

'They were teasing the girl because of her brother.'

With others it encodes range.

(3-32) *Dei bin lern-am im bla tjak-am orla bumareng*
3:PL PST teach-TR 3:SG:O DAT throw-TR PL boomerang

'They taught him to throw a boomerang.'

With some speech verbs the dative encodes goal or source. These role labels are difficult to assign here. The action may be performed for the benefit of the entity as in (3-33), because of it as shown in (3-34), or the entity may be the purpose or reason for the action as in (3-35) but it is never the addressee. In (3-35) the daughter is being sought but others are being addressed in reference to her.

(3-33)	*I*	*bin*	*toktok*	*bla*	*is*	*mami*
	3:SG:S	PST	talk	DAT	3:SG:P	mother

'She talked, defending her mother.'

(3-34)	*Det*	*men*	*bin*	*agumen*	*bla*	*samting*
	that	man	PST	dispute	DAT	something

'That man disputed about something.'

(3-35)	*I*	*bin*	*singat*	*bla*	*is*	*doda*
	3:SG:S	PST	call	DAT	3:SG:P	daughter

'He called out for his daughter to come.'

Speech verbs which reject the dative are, *sei* 'say', *kolam* 'call', *yekyek* 'chatter'.

In a small group of examples the dative could be analysed as encoding an experiencer or even a locative role. The referent in each is animate and the analysis of experiencer is preferred, viewing the entity as the one whose nervous system registers the effect of the event as in (3-36) or the forces of nature.

(3-36)	*Ai*	*bin*	*nak-am*	*wota*	*blanga*	*im*
	1:SG:S	PST	hit-TR	water	DAT	3:SG:O

'I (threw a stick and) hit the water near him.'

(3-37)	*I*	*garra*	*rein*	*langa*	*wi*
	3:SG:S	POT	rain	LOC	we

'It's likely to rain on us.'

(3-38)	*I*	*bin*	*rein-ing*	*blanga*	*wilat*
	3:SG:S	PST	rain-PROG	DAT	1:PL:IN

'We got caught in the rain. (Lit - It rained for us.)'

The variation between {*langa*} and {*blanga*} in (3-37) and (3-38) could be semantic but no difference of meaning is apparent at this stage. Such sentences usually have a non-referring subject, *i*.

3.1.3 {*LANGA*} 'LOCATIVE'

The preposition {*langa*} is often abbreviated to *la* and a longer form ***langanda*** occurs in text from one speaker. As with {*blanga*} the two shorter variants are in free variation with a tendency for the one-syllable form in the speech of children. The prepositional phrase with {*langa*} mostly encodes the locative role where it denotes the place where the predication takes place as illustrated in Examples (3-59) and (3-60). This is not the whole function of {*langa*} for it is used for some very important syntactic relations such as the traditional category of indirect object. Some verbs of transfer have a locative phrase identifying the recipient or goal of the action. Either argument, goal (locative) or patient (object), can take the position immediately following the verb.

(3-39) ***Wi bin gib-im langa olabat petirl***
we PST give-TR LOC 3:PL petrol

'We gave them petrol.'

(3-40) ***I bin ow-um-bek mani la det men***
3:SG:S PST return-TR-back money LOC that man

'He gave the money back to the man.'

These transfer verbs can also be ditransitive when the goal is encoded as an object, and then the goal obligatorily precedes the phrase encoding patient. See also Example (3-30).

(3-41) ***Wi bin gib-im olabat petirl***
we PST give-TR 3:PL petrol

'We gave them petrol.'

With some motion verbs the locative phrase can encode the goal of the action as in the following example where the horse is directing its bucking to the rider on its back.

(3-42) ***Det hos bin bak la im***
that horse PST buck LOC 3:SG:O

'The horse bucked with/at him.'

(3-43) ***Les kripap la Sherin-mob***
let's creep:up LOC (name)-COL

'Let's creep up on Sharon and her friends.'

With some speech verbs the addressee or goal is encoded by the locative phrase and they have no transitive marker in the verb. Those in the data are ***singat*** 'call out, sing out', ***tok*** 'talk', ***agumen*** 'argue, dispute' and ***sei*** 'say'. Examples of two are given.

(3-44) *I bin singat langa is sista*
3:SG:S PST call LOC 3:SG:P sister

'He called out to his sister.'

(3-45) *Det men bin agumen langa det wumun, "Wijei ...?"*
that man PST dispute LOC that woman where

'The man disputed with the woman, "Where ...?"'

(3-46) *I bin toktok langa is matha en fatha*
3:SG:S PST talk LOC 3:SG:P mother and father

'He talked with his mother and father.'

Speech verbs can be categorised according to the correlation of role and grammatical categories which occur with them (contrasting 'case frames'). Verbs which encode the addressee as object are all transitive: ***telam*** 'tell', ***askam*** 'ask', ***enseram*** 'answer' and ***gralam*** 'rebuke, growl at' (see 3.1.1.2). With the two-place verbs ***bleimim*** 'accuse, blame' and ***jamanjam*** 'accuse, challenge', the addressee is encoded in the locative phrase and the object encodes the accused (or experiencer).

(3-47) *I bin bleim-im mi langa det sista bla gib-im-bat*
3:SG:S PST accuse-TR 1:SG:O LOC that sister DAT give-TR-ITER

rongwan medijin
wrong medicine

'He accused me to the nursing sister saying I had given the wrong medicine.'

With most of these speech verbs, the dative phrase can occur where it refers to the purpose or beneficiary of the utterance as in (3-33) to (3-35). In 'light' Kriol the purpose (goal) of an utterance can be identified by the preposition ***tu*** (from English 'to').

(3-48) *I bin gral-am det wumun tu kuk-um det mit*
3:SG:S PST growl-TR that woman to cook-TR that meat

'He rebuked the woman, telling her to cook the meat.'

Intransitive verbs of emotion or mental attitude may have an entity in the role of goal encoded by the locative. With the intransitive verb *jelis* 'resent, envy', the attitude is directed to the goal.

(3-49) *N... bin jelis la D... tumaj is ngawiji bin*
(name) PST resent LOC (name) because 3:SG:P grannie(W) PST

keriy-im im
carry-TR 3:SG:O

'N... resented D... because their grannie carried D...'

(3-50) *Ai bin figit la mai boi*
1:SG:S PST forget LOC 1:SG:P boy

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him. (Lit - forgot my boy)'

There is a clear difference of meaning between locative and dative when they occur with attention verbs and both refer to the entity towards which the activity is directed. Locative as in (3-51) implies that the action is successful, that hearing and understanding occurs, but dative as in (3-52) implies that it has not yet been achieved (see also 7.1.4).

(3-51) *Ai bin lijin la det men*
1:SG:S PST listen LOC that man

'I listened to (heard) the man (speaking).'

(3-52) *Ai bin lijin bla det motika*
1:SG:S PST listen DAT that car

'I listened for the car (trying to hear it).'

Often there is semantic overlap and an entity can at the same time function in two roles. For example when the locative phrase occurs with the verb *lukunat* 'to watch or look at', the entity being watched is usually the goal of the action but if it is animate, it may be aware of being watched and so at the same time be in the role of experiencer. An extra constituent can sometimes clarify the role. In (3-53) embarrassment indicates that the participants are both goal and experiencer. The use of binoculars implies distance so goal is probably the only role in (3-54).

(3-53) *Big sheim, dei bin lukunat langa wilat*
big shame 3:PL PST look:at LOC 1:PL:IN

'We were embarrassed. They stared at us.'

(3-54) *Wi bin lukunat langa detlat garra wan kampas*
we PST look:at LOC those ASSOC IND:SG binoculars

'We looked at them through binoculars.'

Some of the intransitive verbs described above can be transitivised. This results in the goal being encoded as grammatical object instead of the locative phrase.

(3-55) *Ai bin lijin-im det men*
1:SG:S PST listen-TR that man

'I listened to (heard) the man.'

(3-56) ***Ai bin figit-im mai boi***
1:SG:S PST forget-TR 1:SG:P boy

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him. (Lit - forgot my boy.)'

When the goal of an action involving motion is a place, {*langa*} is optionally deleted.

(3-57) ***Wi bin go la Debi*** ~ ***Wi bin go Debi***
we PST go LOC Derby

'We went to Derby.'

With verbs such as ***winim*** 'win, beat' and ***plei*** 'play' the noun referring to the game or sport is in the range role. Sometimes, as with ***winim***, this role is encoded by the locative phrase.

(3-58) ***Odri-mob bin win-im mela la baskitbol***
(name)-COL PST win-TR 1:PL:EX LOC basketball

'Audrey's team beat us at basketball.'

The most frequent use of {*langa*} is to encode the role of locative which simply identifies the place where the action occurred.

(3-59) ***Wi bin jidan la sheid***
we PST sit LOC shade

'We sat in the shade.'

(3-60) ***Ai bin bay-im taka la stoa***
1:SG:S PST buy-TR food LOC store

'I bought food at the store.'

It is also used to refer to a part of the whole as when specifying a body part of the patient.

(3-61) ***Det men bin hit-im langa hed***
that man PST hit-TR LOC head

'The man hit him on the head.'

Others similar to this are in reference to driving a motor vehicle (see also Text C-19).

(3-62) ***Put-um la handrid!***
put-TR LOC hundred

'Go at 100 kph! (Lit - put the speedometer needle at 100).'

In 'light' Kriol prepositions are borrowed from English. One such is *thru* 'through'. It occurs occasionally in the data but mainly in reference to events where people traverse places where there is an obstacle such as flooded roadways, soft sand or boggy patches. Thus this preposition is found with the verb of accomplishment *meikit* 'make it', rather than motion verbs.

(3-63) *Wi bin meikit thru da big riba*
we PST make:it through the big river

'We got through the river without mishap.'

The same role is also encoded with the locative phrase.

(3-64) *Wi bin meikit la det sof sen*
we PST make:it LOC that soft sand

'We managed to drive through the soft sand (without getting bogged).'

3.1.4 *FO* 'PURPOSIVE'

There is a lot of similarity between the dative and purposive prepositional phrases, in that either can be used to encode goal or source roles. In all examples where dative encodes goal in Section 3.1.2, *fo* can be alternated with {*blanga*} except with the verb *laf* 'laugh'.

**Mela bin lafin fo orla kid* is unacceptable. Compare (3-65) with (3-22).

(3-65) *Det wumun bin kuk-um dempa fo orla kid*
that woman PST cook-TR damper PURP PL child

'The woman cooked damper for the children.'

In situations where either *fo* or {*blanga*} can be used {*blanga*} is the 'heavier' form. Some verbs which can have either typically prefer the purposive as in (3-66) and (3-67).

(3-66) *Wi bin betlin fo det motika*
we PST try PURP that car

'We tried hard to get the car but couldn't.'

(3-67) *Det drangkinwan bin hambag-am as fo taka*
that drunk PST pester-TR us PURP food

'That drunk man pestered us for food.'

Fo cannot occur where {*blanga*} encodes range or locative roles and the next two sentences are not acceptable. Compare them with (3-32) and (3-38).

**Dei bin lernam im fo tjakam orla bumareng*

**I bin rein fo wi*

Temporal reference is not included in the list of semantic roles supplied by Longacre but the use of *fo* with the temporal is worth mentioning here for this is one of the few situations where *fo*, but not {*blanga*}, can occur.

(3-68) *Wi bin stap Debi fo longtaim*
we PST stay Derby PURP long:time

'We stayed in Derby for a long time.'

The deletion of the preposition gives a change of meaning (see also Text A-4 and E-1).

(3-69) *Wi bin stap Debi longtaim*
we PST stay Derby long:time

'We stayed in Derby a long time ago.'

3.1.5 *FROM* 'ABLATIVE'

The preposition *from* has a basic ablative meaning encoding a source role and is used with motion verbs to refer to the place of origin or source of the predication.

(3-70) *Mela bin kam from Junjuwa*
1:PL:EX PST come ABL (name)

'We came from Junjuwa.'

A restricted number of other verbs (e.g. attention verbs) can encode the place of origin of the activity with *from*.

(3-71) *Dei bin lukunat as from kemp*
3:PL PST look:at us ABL camp

'They looked at us from camp.'

With transfer verbs the original location of the entity which is transferred is encoded by the ablative phrase.

(3-72) *Orla boi bin rab-am-bat mani from det haus bla detlat*
PL boy PST steal-TR-ITER money ABL that house DAT those

gardiya
European

'The boys stole the Europeans' money from the house.'

(3-73) *I bin bay-im orla taka from stoa*
3:SG:S PST buy-TR PL food ABL store

'He bought food from the store.'

The source of a sensation can be encoded by the ablative.

(3-74) *Dei bin stab-am-bat orla kid from taka*
3:PL PST starve-TR-ITER PL child ABL food

'They denied the children a meal (as punishment).'

3.1.6 {*GARRA*} 'ASSOCIATIVE'

The preposition {*garra*} carries many meanings and functions in all three syntactic environments. When its function is one of identifying the relation of an argument to the verb, it encodes one of two semantic roles, instrument or locative. Instrument role requires an agent in the subject (see Text A-19, D-4).

(3-75) *Det boi bin nak-am garra ston*
that boy PST hit-TR ASSOC stone

'The boy hit her with a stone.'

(3-76) *Wi bin lukaran garra motika ebriwe fo orla keinggurru*
we PST look:for ASSOC car everywhere PURP PL kangaroo

'We went in the car, searching everywhere for kangaroos.'

(3-77) *Wi bin fil-im-ap garra biliken det wota*
we PST fill-TR-up ASSOC billy that water

'We filled the billy with water.'

Provided there is an agent, verbs of most semantic types can have an associative phrase encoding instrument role as it is defined by Longacre. Exceptions to this are the verbs of emotion *labam* 'love', *jelis* 'resent', *wariyin* 'worry'; or mental attitudes *rekin* 'reckon', *bilibim* 'believe, obey', *nowum* 'know, understand', *lern* 'learn'. These cannot have an instrument.

The locative role is even more restricted as it refers, not to a place, but only to an animate entity. This entity is not involved in accomplishing the action but is simply the location where the action occurs. Terms often used to describe this are accompaniment and comitative (see also Text E-9).

(3-78) *Mela bin laf-in garra detlat gel*
1:PL:EX PST laugh-PROG ASSOC those girl

'We were laughing with those girls.'

(3-79) *Det wumun bin krai garra mai sista*
that woman PST cry ASSOC 1:SG:P sister

'The woman cried with my sister (traditional mourning activity).'

(3-80) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*
1:SG:S PST sit ASSOC PL child

'I sat with the children.'

There are three forms of the preposition. They are *garra, garram* and *gat*. The first two are in free variation in all examples given above, though *garra* seems to be preferred. *Garram,* which is the form used in the Ngukurr/Bamyili dialects, is typical of the speech of those at the 'heavy' end of the continuum. It is analysed as *garra + im* (preposition + 3rd singular object pronoun) because it is the only form that can be used sentence finally when the noun is deleted. In the next two examples the first is a verbless clause and the second an intransitive clause.

(3-81) *Benjin garra-m*
Benson ASSOC-3:SG:O

'Benson has it.'

(3-82) *Okei. Yu plei garra-m*
okay 2:SG play ASSOC-3:SG:O

'Okay. You play with it.' (With your guitar—referred to in the previous sentence.)

The other two forms cannot be used finally. **Okei yu plei garra* and **Okei, yu plei gat* are unacceptable. The short form *gat* is heard more at the 'light' end of the continuum and is rarely used in the verbal clause function. One example of *gat* in locative role is given in (3-83).

(3-83) *Yu kam gat mi*
2:SG come ASSOC 1:SG:O

'You come with me.'

3.1.7 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Kriol has many features which resemble the superstratum language English, and others which can suggest resemblance to TA languages. The use of order (to mark subject and object) and prepositions instead of a morphologically marked case system are English-like features. The number of prepositions in Kriol differ considerably from that in English. Quirk and Greenbaum list 62 simple prepositions in their grammar of contemporary English (1972:301). Compare this to Kriol's five. The function of many English prepositions is performed in Kriol by lexemes derived from these English prepositions but functioning in Kriol as locational words. They combine with the locative phrase to add specific orientation which the preposition cannot do (see Text D-10).

(3-84) *Wi bin go kros langa wota*
we PST go across LOC water

'We went through the stream.'

(3-85) *I bin foldan saidwei la reil*
3:SG:S PST fall side LOC rail

'He fell at the side on the rail.

(3-86) *Wan das kaminap biyain la yu*
IND:SG dust coming behind LOC 2:SG

'There's a cloud of dust (car) coming behind you.'

On this subject Blake says of case in TA languages, 'Leaving aside dialect variants or stylistic variants, it is normal to find that separate case forms represent distinct case relations. However, in a language like English there are a number of prepositions such as in, on, under, near, etc. which all express location (they answer where questions) plus some specific orientation of one entity in relation to another. In most Australian languages we find a case suffix marking location, with adverbs being used to express orientation. In the latter instance it is possible to say that there is a locative case form expressing a LOCATIVE case relation. In English I would describe in, on, under, near, etc. as prepositions representing the same case relation, VIZ. LOCATIVE, but representing a further semantic specification as well. Thus in is a case form but not a case form expressing case only' (Blake 1977:1). The Kriol prepositions, in contrast to those of English, express case relations only and so are more like the cases of TA languages in their function.

Subject. The instrument role of the subject in some sentences in Kriol reflects the Aboriginal culture where accountability is viewed somewhat differently from English. This can sometimes be seen in the syntax of

TA languages. In situations where a person is hurt inadvertently, as when one stubs their toe or bumps their head, Walmajarri does not use a reflexive construction. The inanimate entity is treated as an agent and expressed in the ergative case.

(3-87W) *Jina pa-ja lani mana-ngu*
foot AUX-1:SG:O pierced stick-ERG

'I stubbed my toe on a stick. (Lit - a stick poked my foot.)'

Kriol has taken this concept into its grammar by assigning the inanimate entity to the subject of a transitive verb as in (3-87K).

(3-87K) *Stik bin pokam mi*

'I stubbed my toe on a stick. (Lit - a stick poked me.)'

According to Longacre's definition, the entity 'which triggers a change in emotional or physical state' can be treated as an instrument role and I have analysed it as such in 3.1.1.1.

Associative. The two roles of Associative {*garra*} have parallels in Walmajarri. The instrument role is expressed throught the morpheme *-jarti*, which is described in detail in 4.1.8. The locative role is expressed through the accessory case where the NP is marked by the morpheme {*-rla*} and is cross-referenced in the auxiliary. Compare the next two pairs of examples. Those in Kriol are taken from 3.1.6.

(3-88W) *Kirrarni ma-rna-nyanangurla yapa-warnti-rla*
sat AUX-1:SG:S-3:PL:ACC child-PL-ACC

(3-88K) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*
'I sat with the children.'

(3-89W) *Marnin-tu nyanarti-rlu ma-∅-nyanta lungani ngajukura-rla*
woman-ERG that-ERG AUX-3:SG:S-3:SG:ACC cried my-ACC

(3-89K) *Det wumun bin krai garra mai sista*
'The woman cried with my sister (traditional mourning activity).'

Locative. Some of the roles of Kriol {*langa*} are encoded by the Walmajarri accessory and locative cases. (Kriol examples are from 3.1.3.)

(3-90W) *Rukarni ma-rna-nyanta parri-nga ngajukura-rla*
forgot AUX-1:SG:S-3:SG:ACC boy-ACC my-ACC

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him.'

A feature of the accessory case is that the accessory NP is cross-referenced for person and number in the auxiliary (by the suffix *-nyanta* in these examples) but the locative case is not. In this the two cases contrast although they are both marked on the NP by {*-rla*}. (3-91) illustrates Walmajarri accessory case and Kriol {*langa*} encoding goal. (3-92) illustrates Walmajarri locative case with a Kriol translation of it.

(3-91W) *Nganpayi-rlu ma-ø-nyanta jangkujangkumani marnin-ta*
man-ERG AUX-3:SG:S-3:SG:ACC disputed woman-ACC

(3-91K) *Det men bin agumen langa det wumun*
'The man disputed with the woman.'

(3-92W) *Karrinyani ma-rna martuwarra-rla*
stood AUX-1:SG:S river-LOC

(3-92K) *Ai bin jandap la riba*
1:SG:S PST stand LOC river

'I stood at the river (either in the water or on the bank).'

3.2 PREPOSITIONS WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

As well as the syntactic function of prepositions where they relate the NP to the verb, there is an adnominal function for three of the five prepositions. The referent of an NP can be described by an adjective or by one of these three prepositional phrases which is functioning as a modifier of the noun (adnominal). A possessive relationship can be described by either the dative or purposive prepositional phrase, and the associative phrase carries a descriptive meaning. All can be separated by other constituents from the noun they modify. For dative and purposive the position of the preposition to the noun is variable as it can either precede or follow the noun. (In syntactic function the preposition always precedes the noun.) The adnominal prepositional phrase itself is also mobile as it can either precede or follow the noun which it modifies. These various positions will be illustrated below for each preposition. In examples throughout this section the prepositional phrase as well as the noun it modifies is underlined.

3.2.1 {*BLANGA*} 'DATIVE'

The possessor is the referent of the prepositional phrase and the entity possessed is the head of the NP. In (3-93) the prepositional phrase (possessor) follows the noun (possessed) and in (3-94) the opposite is true.

(3-93) *Ai bin faind-im det kap bla det wumun*
1:SG:S PST find-TR that cup DAT that woman

'I found the woman's cup.'

(3-94) *I bin bak bla im hos*
3:SG:S PST buck DAT 3:SG:O horse

'His horse bucked (without a rider).'

The next one illustrates the dative phrase embedded within a phrase in apposition to the subject noun phrase.

(3-95) *En dis bigwan mangki blanga im dedi, i bin*
and this big monkey DAT 3:SG:O father 3:SG:S PST

tel-im, ...
tell-TR

'And this big monkey, his father, told him ...'

The prepositional phrase is often in the Tag position and separated from the noun it modifies providing extra information about the noun.

(3-96) S TAG(S)
Det lilkid parralais-im as blanga det wumun
that small:child paralyse-TR us DAT that woman

'The foetus in that pregnant woman is preventing us from winning at cards (bringing bad luck).'

(3-97) S O TAG(O)
i bin figit-im det ki langa riba blanga is
3:SG:S PST forget-TR that key LOC river DAT 3:SG:P

motika
car

'He left the car key at the river.'

Although in most examples {*blanga*} precedes the noun, it can be post-posed (see also Text D-1).

(3-98) *Det sneik bla ai dei kol-am rili dipwan*
that snake DAT eye they call-TR really deep

'The mythical snake's eye is what they call the really deep waterhole.'

(3-99) *I bin fil-im det manga blanga jinkari*
3:SG:S PST feel-TR that girl(W) DAT leg(W)

'He touched the girl's leg.'

3.2.2. *FO* 'PURPOSIVE'

The same features as have been described for {*blanga*} apply also for *fo*. The prepositional phrase is illustrated preceding the noun it modifies in (3-101) and following it in (3-100).

(3-100) *Det dog fo im bin go longwei*
that dog PURP 3:SG:O PST go long:way

'His dog went a long way.'

(3-101) *Fo Jukuna kid iya*
PURP (name) child here

'This is Jukuna's son. (speaking on telephone)'

In the next example {*blanga*} and *fo* apparently are in free variation as the one can substitute for the other. Compare (3-102) with (3-100).

(3-102) *Det dog bla im bin go longwei*
that dog DAT 3:SG:O PST go long:way

'His dog went a long way.'

There are some features of *fo* which are not shared by {*blanga*}. The preposition can, and often does, follow the noun referring to the possessor as in (3-103) and (3-104) and at times it both precedes and follows it as in (3-105). The head noun has been deleted in (3-106).

(3-103) *Trisa fo dedi bin kam*
(name) PURP father PST come

'Teresa's father came.'

(3-104) *Wi bin luk-um Silina fo meit*
we PST look-TR (name) PURP friend

'We saw Selina's friend.'

(3-105) *J... bin stil-im fo M... fo greip*
(name) PST steal-TR PURP (name) PURP grape

'J... stole M...'s grapes.'

(3-106) *Ai bin nili drap-am fo yu*
1:SG:S PST nearly drop-TR PURP 2:SG
'I nearly dropped your (cup).'

Potential ambiguity with the pre and post positioning of *fo* is prevented by a hierarchy indicating the possessor. Proper names are most likely to refer to the possessor, followed by human, animate and inanimate referents so that both *Trisa fo dedi* and *Dedi fo Trisa* refer to Tresa's father. A knowledge of the real world is necessary to interpret the possessive relationship where two inanimate entities are involved as in the next example.

(3-107) *Des da shedau fo det lif, i muving*
that EQ shadow PURP that leaf 3:SG:S moving
'It's the shadow of that leaf (which is) moving.'

In spite of greater flexibility of order for the preposition *fo,* the purposive phrase is not so mobile as the others and in all examples the adnominal phrase remains contiguous to the noun it modifies.

The two functions of *fo* can be seen in the next example where the first occurrence identifies the syntactic relationship of phrase to verb and the second is the possessive use functioning within the phrase. Brackets are used in this example to help identify the constituents.

(3-108) *Mela bin luk* [*fo* [[*Y...* *fo*] *naif*]]
1:PL:EX PST look [PURP [[(name) PURP] knife]]
'We looked for Yamera's knife.'

3.2.3 {*GARRA*} 'ASSOCIATIVE'

When the associative prepositional phrase modifies a noun, {*garra*} functions semantically very much like the derivational affix of TA languages. This affix is glossed as 'having' or 'comitative' by Dixon (1976:203 and 1980:324) and others, and derives adjectives from nouns. The phrase follows the noun which it modifies but since it normally follows the verb also, it doesn't occur contiguous to the head noun of the subject (which precedes the verb). It cannot modify the noun within another prepositional phrase as dative and purposive can do as in (3-108).

(3-109) *Dei bin teik det men garra plendi blad la hospil*
3:PL PST take that man ASSOC lot blood LOC hospital
'They took the man who was bleeding to hospital.

(3-110) *Det big loding bin kam garra orla staf*
that big truck PST come ASSOC PL stuff

'The big transport truck came with the load.'

It can occur without a head noun.

(3-111) *Wi bin siy-im garra orla kid*
we PST see-TR ASSOC PL child

'We saw her with her children.'

When the adnominal associative phrase is topicalised it does not follow the predicate as in the next example (which is context dependent).

(3-112) *Garra aiglaj tharrei*
ASSOC spectacles there

'The one wearing glasses is over there.'

Semantically, the adnominal associative phrase either describes a noun as in (3-109), or refers to an entity in close association with the referent. This latter as illustrated in (3-113) is the more common use.

(3-113) *En ai bin kambek garra det dupala fish la dinakemp*
and 1:SG:S PST return ASSOC that 3:DU fish LOC picnic:spot

'And I came back with two fish to the picnic spot.'

The entity is normally something physically smaller, often inanimate, and potentially under the control of the head noun referent.

(3-114) *Ai bin gedof garra sweig*
1:SG:S PST descend ASSOC swag

'I got off (the vehicle) with my swag.'

In this, it contrasts with the locative role of the associative phrase in verbal clauses because there the entity is large, animate and refers to the location where the action takes place (3.1.6).

The two functions of the associative phrase, in verbal clauses and within the noun phrase, can be separated according to the following criteria:

(1) If the associative phrase is functioning syntactically it carries information relevant to the predicate whereas the adnominal function has no link to the predicate but serves only to describe the noun.

(2) Formally, the adnominal associative phrase can be identified because it can be negated but this cannot be done if its function is syntactic.

The instrument role provides an illustration of these two functions. The associative phrase often encodes an instrument role in the verbal clause but in the next example the agent is not using the spear to perform the action so it is analysed as adnominal modifying the subject pronoun rather than syntactic function.

(3-115) *I* *bin daibin garra spiya*
3:SG:S PST dive ASSOC spear

'He dived in carrying a spear.'

The second reason for this analysis is that the associative phrase here can be negated. The combination of *garra + no* means 'without'.

(3-116) *I* *bin daibin garra no spiya*
3:SG:S PST dive ASSOC NEG spear

'He dived in without any spear.'

The associative phrase in an instrument role cannot be so negated. The sentence ***Det boi bin nakam garra no ston*** is incorrect for the negative ***neba*** would be used here preceding the verb (see section 2.2).

Adverbial Function. In a small number of examples in the data there is an abstract noun in the associative phrase. These are not analysed as adnominal function because they cannot be negated. However they do not fit the semantic roles well either. In (3-117) fear is not the source or the instrument but rather it describes the type of action. It is therefore treated as separate and analysed as having an adverbial function.

(3-117) *Det parri bin lukunat ebriwe garra frait*
that boy(W) PST look everywhere ASSOC fright

'The frightened boy was watching all around.'

(3-118) *I* *bin luk garra kwesjinmak*
3:SG:S PST look ASSOC question:mark

'He was amazed (and it showed on his face).'

3.2.4 THE LEXEME *LAIKA*

One other lexeme which must be mentioned among the prepositions is *laika* 'like'. The examples in the data are too few to attempt an analysis. In one of them it seems that *laika* is a preposition introducing an NP (which has no head noun). See Text A-3, 29 for other examples.

(3-119) *Laika ti i stap-in*
like tea 3:SG:S stay-PROG

'It is like tea. (Describing a process of making imitation tea.)'

An adverb *layet* ~ *laigajet* 'in this manner' occurs frequently with the verb *go*.

(3-120) *En i garra go layet, en i garra idim*
and 3:SG:S POT go in:this:manner and 3:SG:S POT eat

'And it will go like that (pick up ants with tongue) and it will eat them.'

3.2.5 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

The possessive relationship of {*blanga*} and *fo* is paralleled in Walmajarri by the dative case, and the descriptive meaning of {*garra*} has a parallel in a derivational affix *-jarti*. This latter is best treated later after all three functions of {*garra*} have been introduced, so see 4.1.8 for comparison of these two morphemes.

A possessive relationship can be shown in Walmajarri by the dative case in syntactic function as in (3-121W). Compare this with Kriol where the dative phrase functions within the noun phrase as shown in (3-121K).

(3-121W) *Manga pa-ji kanya ngaju-wu*
girl AUX-1:SG:DAT carried 1:SG-DAT

(3-121K) *I bin keriyim gel bla mi*
'He carried my girl.'

CHAPTER 4

VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES AND THEIR TRANSFORMS

In the last two chapters the prepositional phrase was described as it functions in clauses which contain a verb. Some also have a predicative function and in this function the prepositions identify several of the clause types which have no verb. They will be described in this chapter followed by a section about the verbs which are typically employed to transform them when tense, mood or aspect is added.

Lyons uses a set of six sentence schemata in describing predicative structures which he says 'would appear to be identifiable on purely grammatical grounds, in very many unrelated languages' (1977:469). They are:

NP + V

NP + V + NP

NP (+COP) + NP

NP (+COP) + N/A

NP (+COP) + Loc

NP (+COP) + Poss

Kriol has among its clause types those which can be equated with these six. The first 2 have been illustrated in 3.1.1. The other four provide a beginning point for the description of predicates without a verb. Lyons includes the element (COP) as optional because in many languages these structures have no copula. Kriol does have an optional copula *bi* which will be described in Section 4.2.1.

4.1 VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

The verbless clause types are used to describe states which are perceived as existing at the time of speaking. If the focus is to be shifted to refer to states existing before the time of speaking, the past completive auxiliary *bin* can be used without a verbal element but one is normally included. If the reference is to future time or if a state is perceived as potential or if aspectual reference is needed, then a verbal element is obligatory. The structures described in this section are only those pertaining to a state at the time of speaking.

There are nine clause types in Kriol which have no verb. They are Ascriptive$_1$, Ascriptive$_2$, Equative, Locative, Possessive, Associative, Equational, Existential and Ambient. All have the same two constituents, subject and predicate. Equational could be considered a subtype of Equative but is described separately because of the tentative analysis assigned to it. The terms ascriptive and equative are taken from Lyons (1977:469) and ambient from Longacre (1976:51). In the absence of a copula, constituent order helps identify these as grammatical clauses.

Topicalisation, a feature found throughout Kriol, also applies here (see 2.5). The phrase to be topicalised is moved to the beginning of the clause and the subject is identified by a pronoun which follows the Topic and precedes the predicate as in (4-2).

(4-1) *Dis motika bagarrap*
this car spoiled

'This car is broken down.'

(4-2) TOP(S) S
Dis motika i bagarrap
this car 3:SG:S spoiled

'This car, it's broken down.'

Where the subject NP is topicalised there is no change of word order. If the subject NP is moved to the Tag position for lesser focus, then the subject pronoun copied before the predicate maintains the obligatory order of subject-predicate.

(4-3) S TAG(S)
I bagarrap dis motika

'It's broken down, this car.'

Deictics and pronouns cannot be topicalised. This is especially noticeable in the Locative clause where the predicate is frequently a deictic and the subject a pronoun.

The subject in the first 7 clause types has definite reference and can be a NP, demonstrative or a pronoun. Within a NP, demonstratives ***dis*** 'this' and ***det*** 'that' can be used. When the subject is a demonstrative without a noun, it must be in the nominal form derived by addition of the suffix ***-wan***. Forms are ***dijan*** 'this' and ***tharran*** 'that'.[9] Where there are contrasting subject and object pronoun forms in Kriol either form can be used as subject, i.e. 3rd person singular subject can have either of two forms, *i* (subject form) or *im* (object from). In elicited data, either subject or object pronoun forms occur as subject of all but Associative, Existential and Equational clauses but in natural speech observed and recorded, the subject form only is used for all except some Locative predicates. This contrast between subject and object forms only shows up in the following combinations of person and number (see 2.4).

	subject	object
1:singular	*ai ~ am*	*mi*
1:plural	*wi*	*as*
3:singular	*i*	*im*
3:plural	*dei ~ ol*	*dem*

In the eastern dialects of Kriol contrast of subject and object pronouns is lacking but the contrast has been almost completely established in the west. The verbless predicative structures of the Fitzroy Valley dialect is one of the last areas of the grammar to change and so both forms are used.

I kuk-wan ~ Im kuk-wan	'It is cooked.'
I tharran ~ Im tharran	'It's that one.'
I antap ~ Im antap	'It is up above.'

4.1.1 ASCRIPTIVE AND EQUATIVE CLAUSES

Lyons describes the semantic distinction between equative and ascriptive in these words: 'the former are used, characteristically, to identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another and the latter to ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property' (1977:472). Kriol makes a three-way distinction here formalised by different word classes in the predicate: adjective, nominal and noun. The nominal consists of an adjective stem plus a suffix *-wan* or *-pala*. These suffixes are glossed NOM in examples.[9] It functions as an adjective in the NP and is far more frequent in use than the simple adjective. On semantic grounds, I have included both the nominal and adjectival predicate in the Ascriptive clause but as sub-types to show the formal distinction between them. It is possible that further investigation would reveal a three-way semantic distinction also but present data provides no semantic contrast between the adjective and nominal predicates.

4.1.1.1 ASCRIPTIVE$_1$ CLAUSE

The predicate of the Ascriptive$_1$ Clause is an adjective so the structure can be formalised as NP + ADJ. The predicate describes the state or condition of an entity referred to in the subject.

(4-4) *Dis ti swit*
this tea sweet

'This tea is sweet.'

(4-5) *I tjiki*
3:SG:S dangerous

'He is dangerous/savage.'

The adjective can be modified by an intensifier such as *prapa* 'very' or a limiter *lilbit*.

(4-6) *Dis ti prapa swit*
this tea very sweet

'This tea is really sweet.'

4.1.1.2 ASCRIPTIVE$_2$ CLAUSE

The Ascriptive$_2$ clause is formally NP + NOM. The predicate function is to describe the state or condition of the entity referred in the subject. This structure is much more frequent than the Ascriptive$_1$ clause and this goes along with the preference for the nominal form of the adjective throughout the language.

(4-7) *I nat nugud-wa*
3:SG:S NEG bad-NOM

'It's not bad.'

(4-8) *I kwayit-pala*
3:SG:S tame-NOM

'He is tame.'

(4-9) *Wijan yus-wan*
which 2:P-NOM

'Which one is yours?'

Topicalisation and tagging is frequent. In Examples (4-10) and (4-12) the subject NP is topicalised and (4-11) illustrates tagging of the subject NP which is moved to follow the predicate. (See also (4-3).)

(4-10) TOP(S) S
Dis taka i swit
this food 3:SG:S sweet

'This food is tasty.'

(4-11) S TAG(S)
I gud dis taka warawu
3:SG:S good this food EXCL(W)

'It's good, this food—sure is.'

Both Ascriptive clauses can be negated by *nat* or *nomo*. If the latter is used, the opposite is implied and is often stated in apposition. *Nat* is illustrated in (4-12).

(4-12) TOP(S) S
Dislat wotamelin ol nat swit-wan
these watermelon 3:PL NEG sweet-NOM

'These watermelons, they're not sweet.'

(4-13) *Dijan rein nomo lilbit, i big-wan*
this rain NEG limited 3:SG:S big-NOM

'This is not a little bit of rain, it's a lot.'

4.1.1.3 EQUATIVE CLAUSE

The Equative clause can be formalised as NP + NP, with the meaning of an equational relationship between subject and predicate, i.e. the referent of the subject is equated with the referent of the predicate noun. In (4-15) the subject is topicalised.

(4-14) *Tharran main fishing lain*
that 1:SG:P fishing line

'That is my fishing line.'

4-15) TOP(S) S
Det gowena i mit
that goanna 3:SG:S meat

'The goanna is meat.'

There are very few examples of this clause type in the data as the Equational clause is mostly used to express this.

4.1.2 LOCATIVE CLAUSE

The structure of the Locative clause is NP + LOC. The subject can be an NP or pronoun and the predicate is an NP marked with the preposition {*langa*} 'locative' as in (4-17), *from* 'ablative' as in (4-18), an intrinsically locative lexeme as in (4-19), a word inflected with the directional suffix *-wei* as in (4-16), or a combination of these as in (4-20). (See 3.1.3 and 3.1.5 for a description of the locative and ablative phrases.) The meaning of the construction is that the entity referred to in the subject is identified as being in a certain location. When an ablative phrase is used the entity is said to have originated from the place or direction specified.

(4-16) *Olabat tharr-ei*
3:PL that-DIR

'They are over there.'

(4-17) *Det haus la ai pleis*
that house LOC high place

'The house is on a rise.'

(4-18) *I from long-wei*
3:SG:S ABL long-DIR

'He comes from a long way away.'

The subject NP can be an adnominal NP.

(4-19) *Trisa fo dedi iya*
(name) PURP father here

'Teresa's father is here.'

(4-20) *Blanga im motika tharr-ei la rudas*
DAT 3:SG:O car that-DIR LOC roadhouse

'His car is over at the roadhouse.'

Either constituent can be negated.

(4-21) *No kakaji deya*
NEG goanna(W) there

'There are no goannas there.'

(4-22) *Olabat not iya*
3:PL NEG here

'They are not here.'

Pronouns in the subject of this Locative clause can have either subject or object form. Although in elicited data either form can occur with every type of Locative predicate, in natural speech observed and recorded the object form is always used with a locative lexeme or one inflected with ***-wei*** while the subject form occurs with a locative phrase.

(4-23) *Im iya*
3:SG:O here

'It's here.'

(4-24) *Im tharr-ei*
3:SG:O that-DIR

'It's over there.'

(4-25) *I la ting, la Trisa-mob*
3:SG:O LOC HES LOC (name)-COL

'He is at ---, with Teresa and her friends.'

If time is specified by the tense morpheme ***bin***, with or without the copula, only the subject form of the pronoun is allowed.

(4-26) *I bin bi iya samwe*
3:SG:S PST COP here somewhere

'It was here somewhere.'

The locative ***tharrei*** 'over there' corresponds to those formed from the compass point roots in TA languages. It is often used in text where Walmajarri would have used a specific directional word yet there is no gesture or any other indication of which direction is intended.

Although no examples occur in the data, it is expected that where the predicate is a prepositional phrase topicalisation and tagging would be possible as in the next two unattested sentences.

(4-27) TOP(S) S
Det haus i la ai pleis
that house 3:SG:S LOC high place

'The house, it's on a rise.'

(4-28) S TAG(S)
I la ai pleis det haus

'It's on a rise, the house.'

Where the predicate is a demonstrative, *iya* 'here', *deya* 'there', *tharrei* 'over there', or *dijei* 'this way', topicalisation with pronoun subject preceding the predicate is not possible.

**Bigmob raunwan ston dei/dem iya*

'The big round stones, they're here.'

Focus on the location is acquired by simply reversing the order of the constituents.

(4-29) *Sam-pala tharr-ei*
some-NOM that-DIR

'Some are over there.'

(4-30) *Tharrei sampala*

'Over there are some.'

(4-31) *Blanga im kuldringk tharr-ei la frisa*
DAT 3:SG:O drink that-DIR LOC fridge

'His can of drink is there in the fridge.'

(4-32) *Tharrei la frisa blanga im kuldringk*

'There in the fridge is his can of drink.'

When this happens, only the object form of the pronoun is allowed. The starred alternative in (4-34) and (4-36) are not acceptable.

(4-33) *Im tharrei ~ I tharrei* 'He is over there.'

(4-34) *Tharrei im ~ *Tharrei i* 'There he is.'

(4-35) *Im iya ~ I iya* 'He is here.'

(4-36) *Iya im ~ *Iya i* 'Here he is.'

4.1.3 POSSESSIVE CLAUSE

Having established that the predicate structure may be a prepositional phrase in the Locative clause, it is not surprising to find other prepositional phrases functioning in verbless clauses. The predicate of the Possessive clause is the dative phrase which can be formalised as NP + [{*blanga*} + NP]. The relationship of subject and object is one of possession between two entities, where the subject refers to the possessed entity and the predicate identifies the possessor.

(4-37) *Tharr-an bla Trisa fo dedi*
that-NOM DAT (name) PURP father

'That is Teresa's father's.'

(4-38) *Det kap bla is mami*
that cup DAT 3:SG:P mother

'The cup is his mother's.'

As with the Locative clause, the order of subject - predicate can be reversed where focus on the possessor (predicated entity) is desired.

(4-39) *Bla is mami det kap*

'It's his mother's cup.'

The subject NP can be moved to the Tag position.

(4-40) S TAG(S)
I bla is mami det kap

'It's his mother's, the cup.'

With an interrogative form, the preposition can be final and there is then no grammatical subject.

(4-41) *Hu bla?*
who DAT

'Whose is it?'

There are too few examples in the data to make any other generalisations about topicalisation with the possessive clause.

The meaning of possession can also be obtained by an Equative or Ascriptive clause using a possessive pronoun as in (4-42) and (4-43) respectively or a prepositional phrase functioning adnominally as in (4-44).

(4-42) *Tharr-an mai jarriny*
that-NOM 1:SG:P totem

'That's my totem.'

(4-43) *I main-wan*
3:SG:S 1:SG:P-NOM

'It's mine.'

(4-44) *Dijan bla mindupala ka*
this-NOM DAT 1:DU:EX car

'This is our car.'

4.1.4 ASSOCIATIVE CLAUSE

The Associative Clause has the structure NP + [{*garra*} + NP], where {*garra*} is the same morpheme as that in the associative prepositional phrase. Brackets enclose the predicate. There are always two entities and the structure carries a meaning that the referent of the predicate is in a close association with the referent of the subject. The entity referred to in the predicate is normally physically smaller, or potentially under the control of the subject referent. In a wider sense, association can imply some form of possession either temporary or permanent as in (4-45). See Text A-27 to 29 for more examples.

(4-45) *I garram lisid*
3:SG:S ASSOC lizard

'He has a lizard.'

(4-46) *Det teingk garram bigmob wota*
that tank ASSOC much water

'The tank has a lot of water in it.'

This relationship between predicate and subject is very similar to that between the adnominal associative phrase and its head noun (see 3.2.3).

A body part or some property of the referent can be predicated in this construction.

(4-47) *I garram hard-pala kin*
3:SG:S ASSOC hard:NOM skin

'It (bullock) has a tough hide.'

(4-48) *Dis mit garram plendi bet*
this meat ASSOC much fat

'This meat is (nice and) fatty.'

(4-49) *I garra orla kala*
3:SG:S ASSOC PL colour

'It has many colours.'

The three forms of this preposition, *garram, garra* and *gat* are described in 3.1.6. Example (4-50) is typical of the 'light' end of the continuum featuring *gat*.

(4-50) *Yu gat eni bendij?*
you ASSOC any bandage?

'Do you have a bandage?'

Negation is preferred within the prepositional phrase as in (4-51) though *nomo* can precede it and negate the whole clause as shown in (4-52). This latter is rejected by some young people as 'the way the old people say it'.

(4-51) *Dei garram no mani*
3:PL ASSOC NEG money

'They have no money.'

(4-52) *Dij-an ti i nomo garram shuga*
this-NOM tea 3:SG:S NEG ASSOC sugar

'This tea has no sugar in it.'

Topicalisation and tagging occur and the subject pronoun precedes the predicate.

(4-53) TOP(S) S
Det krokadail i garram ol injaid langa wota blanga
that crocodile 3:SG:S ASSOC hole inside LOC water DAT

im kemp
3:SG:O camp

'The crocodile has a hole under the water, his home.'

(4-54) S TAG(S)
I garram hard-pala kin tharr-an
3:SG:S ASSOC hard-NOM skin that-NOM

'It (bullock) has a tough hide, it has.'

The NP of the predicate can be topicalised leaving the preposition behind. This differs from the Locative and Possessive clauses where focus on the predicated entity is gained by moving the whole predicate to precede the subject (see (4-30) and (4-39)). There are no examples in the data of {*garra*} being fronted along with its NP.

(4-55) TOP(pred) S
Bigmob fleiba mela garram
much tasty:food 1:PL:EX ASSOC

'A lot of good food, we have.'

(4-56) TOP(pred) S
No murrarta yu garram
NEG head:lice(W) 2:SG ASSOC

'No headlice you have.'

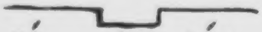
If transformed to an interrogative clause the preposition is final as with the Possessive clause (4.1.3).

(4-57) *Hu garram*
who ASSOC

'Who has it?'

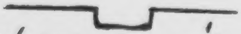
4.1.5 EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

The structure of the Equational clause is NP + [{*da*} + NP]. It has a typical intonation contour which sets it off from all other verbless clauses. It is marked by high pitch and equal stress on the first syllable of both the subject and the predicate while {*da*} always receives low pitch and is unstressed.



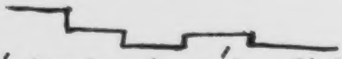
(4-58) *Dís da kíng*
this EQ best

'This one is the best one.'



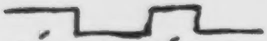
(4-59) *Kánboi da trák*
convoy EQ truck

'Convoy refers to a truck.'



(4-60) *Yúndupala da gél fish*
2:DU EQ girl fish

'You two are (pretending to be) the mermaids.'



(4-61) *Dís da ái-wan*
this EQ high-NOM

'This is the high one.'

The meaning of the construction is an equational relationship between subject and predicate. It is similar to the Equative clause but the presence of {*da*} has the effect of strengthening the notion of equality. The equational/equative distinction could be seen as similar to the definite/indefinite distinction of the English article. Compare (4-62), an equative clause, with (4-63) an equational clause.

(4-62) *Dijan rabij pleis*
this rubbish place

'This is an undesirable place.'

(4-63) *Dis da rabij pleis*
this EQ rubbish place

'This is the undesirable place.'

There is not much doubt that {*da*} is derived from the English article which has been reanalysed. This is not surprising since the copula in English is almost elided in such sentences as 'He's the teacher' and the article has been interpreted as the linking word. The contrast of definiteness in the English article appears to be almost lost in Kriol. For this reason I have analysed {*da*} as a linking device rather than an article.

Three verbless clause types are analysed as containing a preposition in the predicate and this is an identifying feature of these structures. They are Locative, Possessive and Associative. The Equational Clause has features similar to these three where {*da*} functions in the same way as the prepositions. When Possessive and Associative are transformed to interrogative, the question word takes the initial position and the preposition is left behind. Likewise {*da*} is left behind in an interrogative Equational clause.

(4-64) *Wot dish da?*
what this EQ

'What is this?'

When the subject NP is topicalised, the subject pronoun is copied before {*da*} thus identifying it as a constituent of the predicate.

(4-65) TOP(S) S
Detlat hos dei da kwayit-mob
those horse 3:PL EQ quiet-COL

'Those horses are tame ones.'

However the predicate cannot be fronted either with or without {*da*} and in this the Equational Clause is less flexible than others which have prepositions in the predicate.

Because of the similarities of {*da*} with the other prepositions, it is treated in this analysis as a preposition. It appears to be a developing copula and an analysis of copula would have been chosen except for a few examples of the co-occurrence of {*da*} with the established copula *bi*.

(4-66) *Mela bin bi da kruk*
1:PL:EX PST COP EQ crook

'We were (pretending) to be the crooks.'

Such examples are from speakers who are also fluent in English and often use 'light' Kriol where they borrow the English article in noun phrases and even sometimes maintain the English contrast of definite/indefinite as in the next example.

(4-67) *I bin bi a sneik*
3:SG:S PST COP a snake

'It was a snake.'

At present {*da*} is heard mainly in the speech of young people and is very frequent in children's speech. It is not mentioned by Sandefur as occurring in the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects of the Northern Territory from which Fitzroy Valley Kriol came, which suggests it is a recent local innovation. This language is a developing one and, as with all creoles, it is prone to change perhaps more than other languages. It is to be expected that there will be a period during the process of change when the new and old analyses will both be in use within the community. It follows then, that there will be times when more than one analysis may need to be recognised and the morpheme {*da*} is an example of this. Referring to the phenomena of multiple analysis Hankamer says, 'Our methodological assumption ... tells us that we must choose between two competing analyses, unless they are notational variants of each other. I suggest that ... we must give up the assumption that two or more conflicting analyses cannot be simultaneously correct for a given phenomenon' (p.583). Alternative analyses of {*da*} either as an article in 'light' Kriol or as a copula in 'heavy' Kriol are possible though I believe the one given here fits the system of the language best at this time.

In spite of the loss of contrast between the English articles both have influenced the forms of the preposition {*da*} though they retain no meaning contrast. Consequently, there is variation and several forms of {*da*} are heard, and the /s/ from the English copula is found in some forms of the subject.

dis + *da* (from 'this') > *dis da* ~ *dish da*

det + *da* (from 'that') > *des da* ~ *det sa*

i + *da* (from he/she) > *i da* ~ *is da* ~ *i sa*

(4-68) *Det sa mai jarriny*
that EQ 1:SG:P totem(W)

'That's my totem.'

(4-69) *Yu da pirla parri*
you EQ devil(W) boy(W)

'You're a devil, boy.'

(4-70) *I sa pirla orait*
3:SG:S EQ devil(W) alright

'He's a devil alright.'

Noun plus {*da*} can take three forms, noun *da* ~ noun *sa* or noun+*s da*.

(4-71) *Erik da canboi*
Eric EQ convoy

'Eric is convoy. (Convoy refers to the man, Eric.)'

(4-72) *Kanboi sa trak*
convoy EQ truck

'Convoy is the truck.'

(4-73) *I shudbi da men*
3:SG:S should EQ man

'It (convoy) should refer to the man.'

These last three examples came from a discussion of the referential meaning of 'convoy' after seeing a film of that name.

(4-74) *Kenbira-s da mein pleis we i stei*
Canberra is the place where (the Queen) usually stays.'

The subject must have definite reference and can be a demonstrative as shown in (4-75), a subject pronoun as in (4-70) or a noun as in (4-72).

(4-75) *Dij-an da prapa-wan*
this-NOM EQ real-NOM

'This is the genuine one.'

This clause type differs from Ascriptive and Equative in that the subject is very often a demonstrative that is not nominalised, i.e. *dis* or *dijan* can both occur in Equational without a noun but only *dijan* in the other clause types. The predicate always refers to an entity which may have definite reference or be one member of a set. It cannot be abstract in the way that the adjective of an Ascriptive clause is, but must have concrete reference. The next sentence cannot mean 'That's a hundred.' as when counting reaches that figure.

(4-76) *Des da handrid*
that EQ hundred

'That's a hundred (dollar note).'

Negation of Equational clause is by *nat* and {*da*} is optionally deleted. Examples where it is retained are emphatic denials of a previous claim or implication. The subject can also be deleted as in (4-78).

(4-77) *Tharr-an nat kakaji*
that-NOM NEG goanna(W)

'That is not a goanna.'

(4-78) *Nat da raninggeit, des da geit*
NEG EQ grid that EQ gate

'It's not the grid, it's the gate.' (self correction in text)

4.1.6 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE

The prepositional phrase with {*garra*} also occurs as predicate for the Existential clause which has the structure pronoun + [{*garra*} + NP] + (Loc). Here the subject cannot be an NP but only a subject pronoun, *i* '3rd singular' or *dei* '3rd plural'. There is always an implied location which is often overtly stated either as a prepositional phrase or one of the locative words *deya* or *iya*. It is these features which separate the Existential from the Associative clause. It means that the entity referred to in the predicate exists at a given location. This may be stated in the clause or understood from context.

(4-79) *I garra wapurra iya daunwei*
3:SG:S ASSOC caterpillar(W) here down

'There's a caterpillar down here.'

The subject is non-referential but the location can be referential, suggesting at times a close association between the location and the predicate. If the subject is taken to be co-referential with the location (which would be 3rd person singular) the associative meaning of {*garra*} as described in the Associative clause applies here also. The entity referred to in the predicate is normally physically smaller than the subject referent, which in this clause type is a location, but the potential of control on the part of the subject cannot so easily be assigned here as it is in the Associative clause.

(4-80) *I garram wan big eligeita la riba*
3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG big alligator LOC river

'There is a big alligator in the river.'

(4-81) *I garra debul deya*
3:SG:S ASSOC devil there

'A devil is there.'

Topicalisation of the locative is possible and the subject pronoun, as always, precedes the predicate.

(4-82) TOP(LOC) S
La riba i garram kol-wan wota
LOC river 3:SG:S ASSOC cold-NOM water

'In the river there is cold water.'

As with the Associative clause the predicate NP can be topicalised, leaving the preposition behind.

(4-83) TOP(Pred) S
Plendi babalu i garram deya
many buffalo 3:SG:S ASSOC there

'A lot of buffaloes are there.'

The reason for choice of singular or plural pronoun subject is not clear but it seems to be related to the referent of the predicate. If it is clearly a place the pronoun is singular, but in the examples with a plural subject, the referent could be seen as a community. There is only one example of plural subject in the data and it is from a 9 year old boy but the same feature occurs in the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (Sandefur—personal communication).

(4-84) *Dei garram bigmob flai la N...*
3:PL ASSOC many fly LOC (name)

'There are lots of flies at N...'

4.1.7 AMBIENT CLAUSE

Seasons and time (natural phenomena) are described in an Ambient construction with non-referring subject. The structure is Pronoun + Temporal. The predicate is usually a temporal identified by the suffix ***-taim***.

(4-85) *I* *nai-taim*
3:SG:S night-time

'It's night time.'

(4-86) *I* *tumaj kol-taim det fish kan bait*
3:SG:S very cold-time that fish NEG bite

'It's the middle of the cold season and the fish won't bite.'

A temporal or dative phrase can be added but these are not topicalised in the data.

(4-87) *I* *alidei-taim tudei*
3:SG:S holiday-time now

'It's a holiday today.'

(4-88) *I* *nai-taim blanga wi*
3:SG:S night-time DAT we

'It's night where we are.'

Ambient processes are described by verbs with the non-referential subject pronoun. They can also have the dative prepositional phrase indicating that humans are affected.

(4-89) *I* *garra rein blanga wi*
3:SG:S POT rain DAT we

'It's likely to rain where we are.'

(4-90) *I* *bin pringgl-in lilbit*
3:SG:S PST sprinkle-PROG limited

'It (the rain) was sprinkling a little bit.'

4.1.8 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Ascriptive, Equative, Locative and Possessive clause types can be identified in many languages, so we can expect to find at least some of these in TA languages. Ascriptive and Equative types with no copula are found in many, and Walmajarri also has a verbless structure which parallels the Possessive clause in Kriol. The Locative, Associative and Existential clause types in Kriol all have some features similar to Walmajarri. Starting from the Kriol structures described above, similarities with Walmajarri will be presented. For interlinear glosses of Kriol examples used here, see the description of the appropriate clause type where the same examples have been used.

Ascriptive and Equative. Kriol Ascriptive and Equative clause types have direct equivalence with Walmajarri. Relevant grammatical features of the Walmajarri structures are the lack of a copula in present tense and the requirement of transformation to a verbal clause if either tense or aspect is to be specified (see 4.2.7). Examples comparing both languages are given below: (4-91W) is an Ascriptive$_1$ clause and (4-92W) is Equative.

(4-91W) *Minyarti ti pa linyngurru-jinyangu*
this tea AUX:3:SG:S tasty(W)-very

(4-91K) *Dis ti prapa swit*

'This tea is very sweet.'

(4-92W) *Kakaji pa kuyi*
goanna AUX:3:SG:S meat

(4-92K) *Det gowena i mit*

'Goanna is meat.'

The auxiliary in these Walmajarri examples has the appearance of a copula. Its function is quite different however, being a root morpheme which carries the cross-referencing person and number case affixes and at the same time expresses mood. Another example with plural subject will illustrate its function better since 3rd person singular subject is not shown in the auxiliary (zero morpheme—indicated by Ø in some examples).

(4-93W) *Nyantu-warnti pa-lu purlka*
3:SG:S-PL AUX-3:PL:S big

'They are big.'

The cross-referencing suffixes of the auxiliary are often the only overt reference to the subject since the NP can be omitted. This can be seen in the next example where only the suffix *-lu* identifies the subject. In (4-91W) and (4-92W) it is the absence of any suffixes that indicate cross-reference with a 3rd person singular subject.

(4-94W) *Purlka pa-lu*
big AUX-3:PL:S
'They are big.'

Equational. The copula-like auxiliary in Walmajarri provides an interesting link with the Equational clause in Kriol. I suggest that as the morpheme {*da*} has been developed it has been influenced by an incorrect interpretation of the function of the auxiliary in Walmajarri. This could have come about because most Fitzroy Crossing speakers have only a passive knowledge of TA languages. An equative structure in Walmajarri with 3rd person singular subject could have the form:

(4-95W) *nyantu pa-0 takmen*
3:SG:S AUX-3:SG:S stockman
'He is a stockman.'

The auxiliary here could have been interpreted as a non-verbal copula and influenced the reanalysis of {*da*} in Kriol as in the sentence ***Des da stakmen***.

Possessive. The Possessive clause in Kriol has a grammatical parallel in Walmajarri. Dative case can be incorporated into the verbless clause in Walmajarri with a meaning of possession in the same way that Kriol uses the preposition {*blanga*} 'dative'. Compare the Walmajarri Possessive clause in (4-96W) with the Kriol sentence which follows it in (4-96K).

(4-96W) *Nyanarti pa-ji ngaju-wu*
that AUX-1:SG:DAT 1:SG-DAT

(4-96K) *Tharran bla mi*
'That is mine.'

Associative. There is in Walmajarri a morpheme which parallels the Kriol preposition {*garra*}. It is *-jarti* which I have glossed 'comitative' (Hudson 1978). It occurs in three similar syntactic structures to Kriol {*garra*}. In the verbal clause it can be used to mark the instrument role. If the verb is transitive, the ergative case marking suffix follows *-jarti* as well as the head noun as in (4-97) but the head noun is deleted in (4-98).

(4-97W) *Parri-ngu pa pinya pamarr-jarti-rlu*
boy-ERG AUX hit stone-COMIT-ERG

(4-97K) *Det boi bin nakam garra ston*
'The boy hit it with a stone.'

(4-98W) *Muupinya ma-rnalu kuyi-wu ngurti-jarti-rlu*
searched AUX-1:PL:S game-DAT car-COMIT-ERG

(4-98K) *Wi bin lugaran garra motika ebriwe fo orla keinggurru*

'We used the car to search for kangaroos.'

Within the NP *-jarti* carries meaning very similar to Kriol {*garra*} as illustrated in the pairs of examples below. In (4-100) there is no head noun, a feature typical of both languages.

(4-99W) *Ngarni ma-rna walak partu-jarti*
ate AUX-1:SG frog skin-COMIT

(4-99K) *Wi bin idim frog garra skin*

'We ate the frog with its skin on.'

(4-100W) *Nyanya ma-rnalu yapa-warnti-jarti*
saw AUX-1:PL:S child-PL-COMIT

(4-100K) *Wi bin siyim garra orla kid*

'We saw her with her children.'

In the verbless clause *-jarti* is again similar to {*garra*} though in Walmajarri there is no need to set up a separate clause type ((4-101W) is an Ascriptive clause).

(4-101W) *Nyantu pa kunyarr-jarti*
3:SG:S AUX dog-COMIT

(4-101K) *I garram kunyarr*

'He has a dog.'

Walmajarri *-jarti* has been analysed as a derivational affix in all examples. It can be suffixed to a noun and the resultant word functions as an adjective as in (4-101W). If its function is to modify a noun it is inflected for case. See (4-97W) where the derived adjective is marked for ergative case, and (4-99W) and (4-100W) where they are unmarked (the same as their head nouns) because they are in nominative case. It is largely because of this feature of case inflection that an analysis of derivational affix has been chosen. In her description of the Walmajarri Noun Phrase, Richards includes *-jarti* in a set of six derivational suffixes. An equivalent derivational morpheme is to be found in most non-prefixing languages of Australia (Dixon 1980:324).

The noun can be negated and an adjective derived from this compound. A strikingly similar means of negation is possible for Kriol using {*garra*}.

(4-102W) *Pulukwantinya pa jirnal-ngajirta-jarti*
dived AUX spear-NEG-COMIT

(4-102K) *I bin daibin garra no spiya*
'He dived in without a spear.'

Locative and Existential. The Locative and Existential clauses in Kriol do not have parallel grammatical structures in Walmajarri since Walmajarri requires a verbal structure for each of these concepts, usually with the existential verb *nguna*. However transforms of the Kriol Locative and Existential clause types as shown in (4-133) and (4-137) do parallel Walmajarri and these are described in 4.2.6.

4.2 VERBAL TRANSFORMS OF VERBLESS CLAUSES

The addition of tense or aspect to a verbless clause requires transformation to a structure which contains a verb. The structures described in the last section (4.1) consisted only of those with verbless predicates and which refer to a state at the time of speaking. To describe states which are perceived as existing either before or after the time of speaking, it is necessary to add one of the tense/aspect morphemes *bin* 'past' or *garra* 'potential'. Except for the Ascriptive and Equative clauses, it cannot be done without transformation to a clause with a verb. There are several verbs available for this; the copula *bi, git* 'become', intransitive verbs *stap* 'stay', *jidan* 'sit', *jandap* 'stand', and the transitive verbs *abam* 'have, possess' and *gedam* 'obtain, acquire'. These are displayed in Figure 4.1 with the clause types to which they relate indicated by an X in the chart. Brackets mean the data is insufficient. They will be described in groups and in terms of these clause types. Throughout this section interlinear glosses will be included only with the first example of each group or when it is necessary for clarity. The verbal element is underlined in the transforms.

4.2.1 THE COPULA *BI* AND Ø

Past tense can be specified with or without the addition of a verb in both Ascriptive clause types. Where there is no verb this is analysed as a zero copula and no transformation is involved (see Text A-5). Locative and Ambient clause types cannot have a zero copula but *bi* is used when tense is added to them. The older dialect of Kriol at Ngukurr-Bamyili uses the copula *bi* optionally to describe a future state

FIGURE 4.1 VERBS IN TRANSFORMS OF VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

	Ø	bi	stap	git	jidan	jandap	abam	gedam
Ascriptive$_1$	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	—	—
Ascriptive$_2$	X	X	X	(X)	X	X	—	—
Locative	—	X	X	X	X	X	—	—
Ambient	—	X	X	X	—	—	—	—
Equative	(X)	(X)	(X)	—	—	—	—	—
Equational	—	X	—	—	—	—	—	—
Associative	—	—	(X)	—	—	—	X	X
Existential	—	—	X	—	—	—	X	—
Possessive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

but not elsewhere in the language (Sandefur 1979:123). Fitzroy Valley dialect has extended the use of *bi* to make it almost obligatory with *garra* 'potential' and optional with *bin* 'past'. It is most prevalent in the speech of school age children but not restricted to them. The form of *bi* is invariant and it cannot be affixed for aspect. It is semantically empty functioning merely as a linking device to enable tense to be specified. Examples are grouped according to the verbless clause types with which they relate.

Ascriptive$_1$

(4-103) *Olabat hepi*
3:PL happy
'They are happy.'

Transforms

(4-104) *Olabat bin hepi* 'They were happy.'

(4-105) *Olabat neba bin hepi* 'They were not happy.'

(4-106) *Olabat bin bi hepi* 'They were happy.'

(4-107) *Olabat garra bi hepi* 'They will be happy.'

Ascriptive$_2$

(4-108) *Det wotamelin big-wan*
that watermelon big-NOM
'The watermelon is big.'

Transforms

(4-109) *Det wotamelin bin bigwan*
'The watermelon was big.'

(4-110) *Det wotamelin bin bi bigwan*
'The watermelon was big.'

(4-111) *Det wotamelin garra bi bigwan*
'The watermelon will be big (when it grows).'

Locative

(4-112) *Im iya samwe*
3:SG:O here somewhere

'It's here somewhere.'

Transform

(4-113) *I bin bi iya samwe* 'It was here somewhere.'

Ambient

(4-114) *I naitaim*
3:SG:S night

'It's night.'

Transform

(4-115) *I bin bi naitaim* 'It was night.'

Equational

(4-116) *Mela da kruk*
1:PL:EX EQ crook

'We are crooks.'

Transform

(4-117) *Mela bin bi da kruk* 'We were (pretending to be) the crooks.'

4.2.2 *STAP* 'STAY'

In transformations from verbless clause types, the most widely used verb is *stap* 'stay'. It is well attested in relation to both the Ascriptive clause types, Locative, Ambient and Existential but not so much evidence is available for Equational and Associative. In many contexts either *stap* or *bi* can be used but these two differ in that *stap* is meaning-bearing while *bi* is not. Also *stap* can be affixed for progressive aspect by the suffix {*-in*} (see 2.3.2). Thus it functions as a full verb and is more versatile than the copula.[10]

Ascriptive$_1$

(4-118) *I* *kwayit*
3:SG:S quiet
'He is quiet.'

Transform

(4-119) *Yu garra stap kwayit* 'You must be quiet.'

Ascriptive$_2$

(4-120) *Det mad i slipri-wan*
that mud 3:SG:S slippery-NOM
'The mud is slippery.'

Transform

(4-121) *Det mad bin stap slipriwan* 'The mud was slippery.'

Locative

(4-122) *Im tharrei*
3:SG:O there
'He is over there.'

Transforms

(4-123) *I bin stap tharrei fo longtaim*
'He was there for a longtime.'

(4-124) *I garra stap Debi fo longtaim*
'He will be in Derby for a longtime.'

Stap with its inherent duration is preferred above *bi* with the locative, unless duration is not in focus (see (4-113)).

Ambient

(4-125) *I hataim*
3:SG:S hot:season
'It's the hot season.'

Transform

(4-126) *Wen dei bin stap hataim ...*

'When it was hot season...'

Equative

(4-127) *I big-wan ston*
3:SG:S big-NOM stone

'It is a large rock.'

Transform

(4-128) *We i stap rili big-big-wan ston, dei kolam hil*
REL 3:SG:S stay really big-REDUP-NOM stone 3:PL call hill

'Really big rocks they call hills.'

Associative

(4-129) *I garram no murrarta*
3:SG:S ASSOC NEG headlice(W)

'She has no headlice.'

Transforms

(4-130) *I bin stap garra no murrarta*

'She had no headlice.'

(4-131) *Orla gel bin stap-in garra dres*
PL girl PST stay-PROG ASSOC dress

'The girls were wearing dresses.'

There are very few examples of *stap* with associative in the data and even they could be analysed as an adnominal use of the phrase rather than as a complement.

Existential

(4-132) *I garram wan eligeita la riba*
3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG alligator LOC river

'There is an alligator at the river.'

Transform

(4-133) *Wan eligeita stap-in la riba*

'There is an alligator at the river.'

General truth statements not related to the time of speaking, or habitual states, are described using the verb *stap* but without any tense or aspect marked.

Ascriptive$_1$

(4-134) *I lilbit grin-wan*
3:SG:S limited green-NOM

'It's a bit green.'

Transform

(4-135) *Athasaid i stap lilbit grinwan*

'(A mango goes a bit yellow on one side and) the other side is still green.'

Locative

(4-136) *I la mana*
3:SG:S LOC tree

'It's in the tree.'

Transform

(4-137) *I stap la mana*

'It (the animal) lives in a tree.'

4.2.3 *GIT* 'BECOME'

If the state described in a verbless clause is the result of change, the tense/aspect triggered transformation involves *git* 'become'. It relates to the Ascriptive, Equative, Locative and Ambient clause types and can be affixed for progressive aspect but not iterative.

Ascriptive$_2$

(4-138) *I wail*
3:SG:S angry

'He is angry.'

Transforms

(4-139) *I garra git wail*

'He is sure to get angry.'

(4-140) *I bin git-ing fraitin la orla wapurra*
3:SG:S PST become-PROG afraid LOC PL caterpillar(W)

'She was getting frightened by the caterpillars.'

Ascriptive$_2$

(4-141) *Yu big-wan nau*
2:SG big-NOM now

'You are big now.'

Transform

(4-142) *Wen yu garra git bigwan, yu garra go skul*

'When you are big, you will go to school.'

Locative

(4-143) *I la det geit*
3:SG:S LOC that gate

'He is at the gate.' (See also Text C-15.)

Transform

(4-144) *Wen wi bin git langa det geit, i bin git naitaim langa mipala rait deya*

'When we arrived at the gate, darkness fell at that very moment.' (See also Text C-55.)

Ambient

(4-145) *I naitaim bla wi*
3:SG:S night DAT we

'It's night where we are.'

Transform

(4-146) *I bin git leit bla wi*

'It got late on us.' (Reference is to the sun setting.)

Passives with *git*. The only passive-type constructions in the language occur with *git* and *jelp* (5.3.2). Both allow for the description of an activity without reference to an agent. *Git* implies a change of state in the entity referred to in the subject and the complement indicates the final state reached as in (4-147). The verb in the complement can also indicate the activity or process which brought about the change of state as shown in (4-148) and (4-149). The form of the verb used is intransitive and it is sometimes homophonous with an adjective.

(4-147) *Wi bin git bog la riba*
we PST become bogged LOC river

'We got bogged in the river.'

(4-148) *Det dempa kan git kuk*
that damper NEG become cooked

'The damper won't cook (no fire).'

Sometimes the past participle form of English can be seen in the verb used in this complement. The English suffix *-ed* is present in remnant form before an aspectual suffix *-ap* (see 2.3.3).

(4-149) *Detlat kulus bin git bernd-ap*
those clothes PST become burnt

'Those clothes were burnt (and consumed).'

4.2.4 *JIDAN* 'SIT', *JANDAP* 'STAND'

The stance verbs are full intransitive verbs as in the next two sentences.

(4-150) *Wi bin jidan la sheid*
we PST sit LOC shade

'We sat in the shade.'

(4-151) *Yu jandap la det trak parri*
2:SG stand LOC that truck boy(W)

'You stand up near the truck boy.'

Their meanings can be extended to carry the implications of the physical orientation of the inanimate referent, and it is this meaning that is primary when they occur in the transforms from the verbless clause structures. *Jidan* implies a position low and horizontal and *jandap* implies a vertical elevated position. These two are optionally selected in relation to Ascriptive and Locative verbless clauses when tense and aspect need to be specified. They cannot be used with many contexts as they are semantically very restricted. The type of things that are perceived as standing are hills, houses and cars; things that typically sit are low hills, bird's nests and people dwelling in a place. Examples of this function of *jidan* and *jandap* follow.

Ascriptive$_2$

(4-152) *Dis haus i grin-wan*
this house 3:SG:S green·NOM
'This house is green.'

Transform

(4-153) *Dis haus i bin jandap grinwan bat tudei i waitwan*
'This house used to be green, but now it's white.'

Equative

(4-154) *I big-wan ston*
3:SG:S big-NOM stone
'It is a large rock.'

Transforms

(4-155) *We i jidan big-big-wan ston dei kolam hil*
REL 3:SG:S sit big-REDUP-NOM stone 3:PL call hill
'Big rocks, they call hills.'

(4-156) *We i jandap bigbigwan ston, dei kolam hil*
'Big tall rocks, they call hills.'

Locative

(4-157) *Det nes antap la tri*
that nest above LOC tree
'The nest is at the top of the tree.'

Transforms

(4-158) *Det nes bin jidan antap la tri*
'The nest was at the top of the tree.'

(4-159) *Mai mami bin jidan la Debi fo long-taim*
1:SG:P mother PST sit LOC Derby PURP long-time
'My mother lived in Derby for a long time.'

This extension of meaning for the stance verbs is very similar to TA languages. In Kriol they seem to be used less with this extended meaning and the general verb ***stap*** is much more prevalent.

4.2.5 *ABAM* 'HAVE, POSSESS' AND *GEDAM* 'OBTAIN, PROCURE'

The transitive verb ***abam*** 'have, possess' differs from the others in that it only occurs in relation to Associative and Existential clauses, those containing the preposition {*garra*} in the predicate. *Gedam* 'obtain, procure' is even more restricted as it is used in transformations from the Associative clause only. It can only be used if the reference to past time indicates an event which brought about the present state. If the reference is to a state which existed in the past, only ***abam*** can be used. Note that the non-referential pronoun subject is retained in (4-165).

Associative

(4-160) *I garram shuga*
3:SG:S ASSOC sugar
'He has sugar.'

Transforms

(4-161) *I bin abam shuga* 'He had sugar.'

(4-162) *I garra abam shuga* 'He will have sugar.'

(4-163) *I bin gedam shuga* 'He got sugar.'

Existential

(4-164) *I garram wota deya*
3:SG:S ASSOC water there
'Water is there.'

Transform

(4-165) *I bin abam wota deya*
'Water was there.'

In the next example the entity is located in time rather than a place and the plural subject is consistent with a view of the association being in relation to a community (see 4.1.6).

(4-166) *Langa drimtaim dei bin abam-bat entita en tetil*
LOC dreamtime 3:PL PST possess-ITER anteater and turtle

'In the dreamtime there was an anteater and a turtle.'

The short excerpt of text which follows illustrates the interplay of ***stap*** and ***abam*** and the progressive and iterative aspects which are mutually exclusive with these two verbs, i.e. ***stap*** cannot be made iterative and ***abam*** cannot take progressive aspect.

(4-167) *Orla gel bin stap-ing garra bra en orla boi bin*
PL female PST stay-PROG ASSOC bra and PL male PST

stap-ing garra no shet ani shout dei bin abam-bat
stay-PROG ASSOC NEG shirt only shorts 3:PL PST possess-ITER

'The women were wearing only bras on top, and the men were not wearing shirts, they only wore shorts.'

4.2.6 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS FOR {*GARRA*}

The analysis of {*garra*} as a preposition in the verbless clause types is open to question as there is evidence of some verbal qualities. Features which support the preposition analysis are:

(1) the lack of tense/aspect. No tense or aspect can be specified without transformation to a verbal clause. If it is analysed as a verb, it would be the only verb in the language with the restriction that it can only occur in the present tense. For examples of transformations necessary for tense to be added see 4.2.2 and 4.2.5.

(2) its similarity in form and meaning to the preposition of the associative phrase (compare 3.1.6 and 4.1.4).

Features which support an analysis of verb are:

(1) fewer restrictions apply to {*garra*} for final position in the clause than apply to the other prepositions which can only be final with an interrogative.

(4-168) *Benjin garram* 'Benson has it.'

The subject-predicate order can't be switched with {*garra*} as it can for the Locative and Possessive clauses thus preventing it from occurring initially. The sentence ****Garram plendi fet dis mit*** is not acceptable.

(2) the form ***garram*** could be analysed as a transitive verb stem plus transitive marker, ***garra-am*** 'possess'.

(3) the copula verb *bi*, which occurs in transforms from the other verbless clauses (except Possessive), cannot occur with the Associative.

It is probable that the etymon of {*garra*} is the English 'got' as in 'I've got a car'. The potential tense/aspect morpheme *garra*, and *git* 'become' probably also come from the same English form; from 'I've got to go' and 'He got sick' respectively. These last two are different enough in form and function to be easily distinguished in Kriol as separate morphemes. Associative {*garra*}, however, has one set of allomorphs and a similar meaning whether it functions in the NP of a verbal clause or in the predicate. This allows for possible variation of analysis. Bickerton refers to a similar feature in Guyanese Creole which he claims results in confusion of analysis for the speakers themselves, and I present details of this in support of my own claim of variable analysis for Kriol {*garra*}.

Bickerton says that in Guyanese Creole there are two distinct verbs *gat* and *get*. The first may carry the sense of possessing, being obliged as well as an existential meaning; and the second has the meaning of 'be able to, manage to' as well as being an auxiliary in the passive. He explains that there is possible confusion between these two verbs because of their common etymology and phonological similarity. Of the variation found among speakers of Guyanese Creole he says, 'It would seem likely that the speaker who is moving away from the basilect would find it progressively harder to keep the two verbs apart' (1971:480). In the absence of any study of variation in Kriol, I see no evidence of confusion on the part of Kriol speakers with regard to the morpheme {*garra*}, but rather there seems to be a continuum between the clearly defined preposition and the uncertain verbal element, as illustrated by the set of examples below.

(4-169) *I bin nakam mi garra stik*
3:SG:S PST hit 1:SG:O ASSOC stick

'He hit me with a stick.'

(4-170) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*
1:SG:S PST sit ASSOC PL child

'I sat with the children.'

(4-171) *Dei bin teik det men garra blad la hospil*
3:PL PST take that man ASSOC blood LOC hospital

'They took the bleeding man to hospital.'

(4-172) *Orla gel bin stap garra bra*
PL female PST stay ASSOC bra

'The women wore bras.'

(4-173) *I garram wan big krakadail la riba*
3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG big crocodile LOC river

'There is a big crocodile at the river.'

(4-174) *I garram lisid*
3:SG:S ASSOC lizard

'He has a lizard.'

(4-175) *Benjin garram*
(name) ASSOC

'Benson has it.'

(4-176) *Yu gat eni bendij?*
2:PL ASSOC any bandage

'Do you have any bandages?'

4.2.7 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Of the verbs described in this section, *git* 'become' and the stance verbs have equivalents in TA languages which are either grammatical or semantic. Very few TA languages have any copula verb, though there is evidence for one recently developed in Walmajarri. It is the verb *nguna* 'exist' which is used when tense or aspect needs to be marked in verbless clauses.

(4-177W) *Nyantu pa purlka*
3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big

'He is big.'

(4-178W) *Nyantu pa purlka ngunang-an-a*
3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big exist-continuous-present

'He is big (right now).'

Dixon says of this verb, 'It is probably cognate with *ŋu(u)- ~ ŋuna- ~ wu- ~ wuna-* 'to lie down' in other languages ... We can suggest that in an earlier stage of the language 'lie' was the unmarked term from the system {lie, sit, stand}, being used for 'to stay, settle' and 'to exist' ...; it has now moved one step further to become a copula verb 'to be'' (1980:120). In Fitzroy Valley Kriol, *stap* and *bi* are both used parallel to Walmajarri *nguna*. The difference here is that *nguna* can be used in the present continuous form specifying that the state is ongoing at the time of speaking as in (4-178W), but in Kriol the present is always zero realisation. In Kriol, *stap* seems to have displaced *leidan* which is one of the set of three stance verbs in eastern dialects.

(4-179W) *Nyantu pa purlka nguj-a*
3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big exist-PST

(4-179K) *I bin bi bigwan*

'He was big.'

(4-180W) *Luka nyanarti pa karntaly-jinyangu nguja*
mud that AUX slippery-very exist-PST

(4-180K) *Det mad bin stap slipriwan*

'The mud was slippery.'

The customary tense brings out the existential meaning of *nguna* as in (4-181W) and (4-182W). Here it parallels Kriol *stap* 'stay'.

(4-181W) *Mana-nga pa-∅ ngun-iny*
tree-LOC AUX-3:SG:S exist-customary

(4-181K) *I stap la mana*

'It (the animal) lives in a tree.'

(4-182W) *Kuwarniya pa-∅ ngun-iny martuwarra-rla*
alligator AUX-3:SG:S exist-customary river-LOC

(4-182K) *Wan eligeita stapin la riba*

'There is an alligator at the river.'

The stance verbs are used in many TA languages as existential verbs which indicate physical orientation. Some sentences from Walmajarri illustrate this and serve as a comparison with Kriol.

(4-183W) *Ngamaji pa-ji Debi-nga kirrarnani*
mother AUX-1:SG:DAT Derby-LOC was:sitting

(4-183K) *Mai mami bin jidan la Debi*

'My mother was living in Derby.'

(4-184W) *Ngurti-warnti paja pa-lu rudas-ja karrinyani*
car-PL many AUX-3:SG:S roadhouse-LOC were:standing

(4-184K) *Bigmob motika bin jandap la rudas*

'There were a lot of cars at the Roadhouse.'

Git 'become'. Almost all TA languages have a derivational inchoative affix which is added to a nominal root or stem to derive an intransitive verb (Dixon 1980:434). The Walmajarri inchoative is *-jarri* and it can be added to nominals and lexemes from other word classes deriving intransitive verbs. Some of the semantic combinations are paralleled in Kriol with *git*. Examples are presented according to the word classes from which verbs are derived in Walmajarri.

Adjective

(4-185W) *kuli-jarri-wu pa*
anger-INCHO-FUT AUX:SG:S
'He became angry.'

Compare this with Kriol Ascriptive transform.

(4-185K) *I garra git wail.*

Allative case

(4-186W) *Ngurra-ngkurra-jarri-nya pa*
camp-ALLATIVE-INCHO-PAST AUX:3:SG:S
'He arrived at the camp.'

Compare this with Kriol Locative transform.

(4-186K) *I bin git la kemp.*

Temporal

(4-187W) *Pukanyja-jarri-nya ma-rnapangu*
night-INCHO-PAST AUX-1:PL:EX:DAT
'Night fell. (Lit - it became night for us.)'

Note the use of dative case here as shown in the cross-referencing in the auxiliary. Compare this with Kriol Ambient transform.

(4-187K) *I bin git naitaim bla wi.*

CHAPTER 5

THE MORPHEME *JELP*

The morpheme *jelp,* probably derived from English 'self', does not give any information about the type or mode of action but about the participants involved. It normally follows immediately after the verb but is analysed as a separate word because it can be separated from the verb by an object NP as in (5-1) and it can be fronted when topicalised as in (5-2).

(5-1)	*I*	*bin*	*ged-am*	*wan*	*bulutang*	*jelp*
	3:SG:S	PST	get-TR	IND:SG	blue:tongue	REFL

'She caught a blue-tongue lizard without any help.'

(5-2)	*Jelp*	*i*	*bin*	*opun-um-bat*
	REFL	3:SG:S	PST	open-TR-ITER

'The door opened itself (an unlikely event).'

The basic meaning carried by *jelp* is participant exclusiveness, i.e. the participant(s) referred to in the subject NP are the only participants in the action described. This results in three types of participant involvement: reciprocal, reflexive and restrictive. Figure 5.1 displays these three with subdivisions. The number of participants is significant, so these are shown on the vertical parameter. As there is no contrasting form for reflexive and reciprocal, there is potential ambiguity in some situations. However, a knowledge of the semantics of the verb plus cultural information enables a correct interpretation in the majority of cases. In the chart, X means that there is a structure of this kind found in the language. They will be described as presented across the chart.

FIGURE 5.1 FUNCTIONS OF *JELP*

Number of Subject	Reciprocal Agent = Patient/goal	Reflexive Agent = Patient/goal	Restrictive		
			Agent Exclusive	Minus Causal Agent	Agent Individual
Sing.	—	X	X	X	—
Dual	X	X	X	X	X
Plural	X	X	X	X	X

There are several pronunciations for this morpheme: *jelp* at the 'heavy' end of the continuum and *self* at the 'light' end. Others are *jel, sel, selp.*

In both reciprocal and reflexive functions *jelp* replaces one of the arguments which is co-referential with the subject. Depending on the valency of the verb, this replaced argument can be the object, a dative phrase or a locative phrase. Only when the second argument encodes a semantic role of patient or goal can it be co-referential with the subject. This excludes the ablative and associative phrases as well as some functions of the dative, purposive and locative, e.g. source, range and locative roles. The identity of the replaced argument is not shown formally because *jelp* is not preceded by the identifying preposition. It can be known only by the roles typical for each verb.

5.1 RECIPROCAL

Only when two or more participants are involved can *jelp* have a reciprocal meaning. With two-place transitive verbs, the participants of the subject (agent) are co-referential with the object and the meaning of this construction is that the participants are performing the action directed toward each other. If the semantic role of the object is that of patient, the meaning is that the participants acted on each other and affected each other as in (5-3) and (5-4). If the object is encoding a goal role it means that the participants directed the action toward each other without necessarily affecting each other as in (5-5) and (5-6).

(5-3) *Mela bin drand-am-bat jelp*
1:PL:EX PST sink-TR-ITER REFL

'We were ducking each other in the water.'

(5-4) *Dupala bin tjeis-im-bat jelp*
3:DU PST chase-TR-ITER REFL

'They two (cars) were travelling together, passing each other.'

(5-5) *Dupala kid samaram jelp*
3:DU child level REFL

'The two children are approximately equal in age, height etc.'

(5-6) *Wi bin enser-am jelp na*
we PST answer-TR REFL EM

'We were able to converse with each other by this time.'

In his description of Diyari (a language of South Australia), Austin makes a comment about participants in a reciprocal structure which applies also to Kriol: 'When the NP in S function refers to more than two (i.e. plural) it does not follow that every member is acting upon every other member of the set of referents' (1978:178). In (5-3), every member of the group did not necessarily give and receive a ducking.

The intransitive speech verbs such as *agumen* 'dispute, argue' take a locative phrase to encode the role of goal as in (5-7) and *jelp* replaces the locative phrase.

(5-7) *I bin agumen la mi*
3:SG:S PST dispute LOC 1:SG:O

'He argued with me.'

(5-8) *Dupala bin agumen jelp*
3:DU PST dispute REFL

'They argued with each other.'

With three-place verbs there are semantic restrictions as to which argument can be co-referential with the subject. With verbs of transfer and speech the subject is normally human and so the co-referential argument is necessarily human also. With most verbs this removes any potential ambiguity of reference.

(5-9) *Dei gibirr-im jelp mani*
3:PL give-TR REFL money

'They give each other money.'

(5-10) *Mela bin tel-im-bat jelp stori*
1:PL:EX PST tell-TR-ITER REFL story

'We told stories to each other.'

For verbs which have three arguments with animate reference the object takes precedence for co-referentiality.

(5-11) *I bin jamanjam olabat langa pulijmen*
3:SG:S PST accuse 3:PL LOC policeman

'He accused them to the policeman.'

(5-12) *Dupala bin jamanjam jelp*
3:PL PST accuse REFL

'The two accused each other.' NOT the two accused someone to each other.

(5-13) *Dei bin bleim-im jelp langa det gardiya*
3:PL PST accuse-TR REFL LOC that European

'They accused each other (made accusations against each other) to the European.'

Transitivity of the verb is unchanged and the majority of reciprocal clauses are transitive.

5.2 REFLEXIVE

The reflexive function of *jelp* can be found in transitive clauses with any number of participants. The subject is co-referential with the object, dative or locative phrases and the meaning is that the participant(s) is acting on, or on behalf of, himself/herself. As with reciprocal, the argument which is co-referential with subject is replaced by the morpheme *jelp* and transitivity is unchanged. Two examples of transitive verbs where the object as patient is co-referential with subject are given below.

(5-14) *Mindupala bin weten-im jelp la riba*
1:DU:EX PST wet-TR REFL LOC river

'We two splashed water on ourselves to cool off at the river.'

(5-15) *Dei bin trabul-um jelp, tumaj dei bin stil-ing*
3:PL PST trouble-TR REFL because 3:PL PST steal-PROG

'They caused trouble for themselves, because they had been stealing.'

Reflexive actions can include such unlikely acts as injuring oneself where the agent is also the patient.

(5-16) *Det wumun bin blidin-im jelp garra biliken la hed*
that woman PST bleed-TR REFL ASSOC billy LOC head

'The woman hit herself on the head with a billycan until she bled (in mourning).'

Intention is usually implied though accidental self injury can be included, provided the patient was actually an agent. The next example comes from text where the speaker tried to hit a goanna and missed, striking her own foot.

(5-17) *Ai bin hit-im jelp langa fut*
1:SG:S PST hit-TR REFL LOC foot

'I hit myself on the foot.'

Uncontrolled events such as a stubbed toe are not described with reflexive as in English 'I kicked my toe' but the source of the injury is encoded as grammatical subject (see also 3.1.7).

(5-18) *Ston bin nak-am mi*
stone PST hit-TR 1:SG:S

'I stubbed my toe on a stone. (Lit - a stone hit me.)'

Some transitive perception verbs where the subject encodes an experiencer role can be reflexivised.

(5-19) *I bin faind-im jelp la rong pleis*
3:SG:S PST find-TR REFL LOC wrong place

'He discovered that he was lost. (Lit - found himself at the wrong place.)'

(5-20) *Det wumun bin fil-im jelp pein-ing blanga yapa*
that woman PST feel-TR REFL pain-PROG DAT child(W)

'The woman became aware of labour pains.' (Lit - felt herself paining for the child.)'

The euphemistic verb for death occurs with reflexive. The verbs used to refer to human death are *lus* 'die (intr)' and *luj-um* 'be bereaved (tr)'. The latter places the bereaved relative as grammatical subject and the one who dies as grammatical object.

(5-21) *Wi bin luj-um det olmen*
we PST lose-TR that old:man

'The old man (our relative) died.'

This verb when used with reflexive perhaps implies an untimely death as in the next example where the situation described is of a woman who was about to receive treatment from a medicine man. He made this prophecy should the treatment not be given.

(5-22) *I garra luj-um jelp bifo wik*
3:SG:S POT lose-TR REFL before Sunday

'She will probably die before Sunday.'

Margaret Sharpe gives a similar example for the Ngukurr dialect in her article of 1975 (p.9):

Olmen bin lujim mijalb

'The old man died' (Lit - 'lost himself'.)

Ambiguity between reciprocal and reflexive is possible where there is more than one participant. However, most can be interpreted by a knowledge of the culture or by the semantics of the verb.

(5-23) *Dei bin peint-im-bat jelp*
3:PL PST paint-TR-ITER REFL

'They were painting themselves and each other (as in preparing for a corroboree).'

(5-24) *Dupala bin jamanjam jelp*
3:DU PST accuse REFL

'The two accused each other.' OR

'The two accused themselves (confessed).'

Although *jelp* is not preceded by a preposition in reciprocal/reflexive constructions described so far, there is one situation where it can be. That is the adnominal function of {*blanga*}. Participant exclusiveness is retained but the co-referential phrase is not an argument of the verb, but an embedded phrase within an argument (object in all examples).

(5-25) *Wi kin ab-am lil kut blanga jelp*
we can have-TR little court DAT REFL

'We can have our own small court.'

Co-referentiality with the adnominal dative allows for some participants in the subject and dative phrases to be different, provided the subject referent is included in the dative phrase.

(5-26) *Ai bin bay-im motika bla mindupala jelp*
1:SG:S PST buy-TR car DAT 1:DU:EX REFL

'I bought a car for us two (exclusive) only.'

5.3 RESTRICTIVE

When the reference is to the exclusiveness of participants in the subject, *jelp* is used in both transitive and intransitive clauses. This function can be subdivided into three: that which excludes the possibility of any participant other than those referred to in the subject, that which excludes any possibility of an agent involved in the action, and that which focuses on the individual action of each participant. There is no co-referential argument in restrictive function. Transitivity is unchanged and the object NP occurs.

5.3.1 AGENT EXCLUSIVE

The term agent is used here according to Longacre's definition, 'The animate entity which instigates a process or which acts; an inanimate entity which acts (e.g. an astronomical body or the semiautonomous machine). Agents either instigate a process... or perform an action' (1976:28). It, therefore, can include subject of transitive and intransitive verbs. Any number of participants is possible.

(5-27) *Det wumun rid-im-bat kard jelp*
that woman read-TR-ITER card REFL

'That woman works out the score of her hand of cards without any help.'

(5-28) *I bin brend-am det burluman jelp*
3:SG:S PST brand-TR that cattle REFL

'He alone branded the bullock.'

(5-29) *Dupala bin jidan jelp*
3:DU PST sit REFL

'They two sat alone, away from others.'

(5-30) *Dei duw-um jelp nau*
3:PL do-TR REFL now

'They do the work without supervision now.'

5.3.2 MINUS CAUSAL AGENT

Where it is desired to highlight that there was no agent involved in the event or process but that it was accidental or 'just happened', *jelp* is used. This often applies to inanimate referents and can include such things as an engine with an automatic starter. If the process is in focus rather than the absence of an agent, the structure with *git* 'become' is more appropriate (see 4.2.3).

(5-31) *Det shuga kan pinij jelp, sambadi maiti bin teik-im*
that sugar NEG complete REFL somebody might PST take-TR

'The sugar couldn't just disappear. Somebody must have taken it.'

(5-32) *Det doa bin opun jelp bla mi*
that door PST open REFL DAT 1:SG:O

'The door just opened as I was about to go through it.'

(5-33) *I bin foldan jelp*
3:SG:S PST fall REFL

'He fell accidentally (no one pushed him).'

In one example, participant exclusiveness refers to the object and not the subject.

(5-34) *B... bin jendam Ng... jelp*
(name) PST send (name) REFL

'B... sent Ng... alone.'

It is probable that this verb with its human object is one of few which allow object exclusiveness. It is not possible in sentences such as (5-28) which can only mean 'He alone branded the bullock' not 'He branded the bullock only'. To express emphasis of the object as English reflexive pronouns do, Kriol is more likely to use the emphatic particle *na* as in (5-35).

(5-35) *I bin brendam det burluman na*

'He branded that very bullock.'

There may be an implied emphasis in the Agent Exclusive and Minus Causal Agent structures. This can be illustrated by the apparently redundant use of the emphatic affix from Walmajarri in (5-36).

(5-36) *I kin bomit jelp-arni*
3:SG:S can vomit REFL-EM(W)

'He will certainly vomit (if he keeps gorging himself).'

English forms are optionally used in some examples by some speakers. They are *ijelp* 'itself', *imjelp* 'himself, herself', *yujelp* 'yourself', *maijelp* 'myself'.

(5-37) *Det wota bin fil-im-ap imjelp*
that water PST fill-TR-up REFL

'The water filled the vessel without any help (a dripping tap).'

(5-38) *I bin bi la bek imjelp*
3:SG:S PST COP LOC back REFL

'He was alone in the back (of the truck).'

Children of Primary School age sometimes use these forms for emphasis the same as in English, 'I've never been there myself' (see Text B-5,6).

(5-39) *Yu-l dai yujelp*
2:SG-POT die REFL

'You yourself will die (if you kill your totem animal).'

5.3.3 AGENT INDIVIDUAL

The third restrictive type differs from all others in that it has an obligatory reduplicated form *jelpjelp* or *jelp-en-jelp*. Its meaning is that the participants (two or more) each acted individually. The two forms have no contrasting meaning but may be stylistic and are in free variation in these examples. There can be no ambiguity between this and unreduplicated structures.

(5-40) *Det shuga bin pinij, tumaj dei bin teik-im jelp-en-jelp*
that sugar PST complete because 3:PL PST take-TR REFL-and-REDUP

'The sugar is all gone, because they each came and took some.'

(5-41) *Dei bin tok jelp-jelp*
3:PL PST talk REFL-REDUP

'They each spoke in turn.'

An interesting sentence can be made from (5-41) by reduplicating the verb also. Reduplication of the verb normally implies multiple actors or repeated actions. In the next example the reduplicated verb implies plural participants and the reduplicated reflexive indicates separate actions.

(5-42) *Dei bin tok-tok jelp-jelp*
3:PL PST talk-REDUP REFL-REDUP

'They were in separate groups, all talking within their groups.'

The underlying meaning of reduplication in Kriol seems to be one of plurality. This use of it in *jelpjelp* for focus on participants acting individually is not out of keeping with the concept of plurality, because separate actions involve plural participants and therefore plural actions. An example from another word class will help illustrate this.[11] In (5-43) the lexeme *meit* indicates that they were in pairs and the reduplication shows that there were many pairs separated from each other.

(5-43) *Orla boi bin go meit-meit langa riba*
PL boy PST go mate-REDUP LOC river

'The boys walked in pairs at the river.'

Compare this with reduplicated *jelp.*

(5-44) *Dei bin go fishing jelp-jelp*
3:PL PST go fishing REFL-REDUP

'They split up and went fishing separately.'

5.4 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

According to Dixon the reflexive/reciprocal morphemes in most TA languages are derivational affixes on the verb. Reflexive 'can only be added to a transitive root, and derives an intransitive stem' while reciprocal is the same except that it must have a subject NP which refers to two or more participants (Dixon 1980:433). 'In many languages the verbal affix which signals reflexive can also have a wider syntactic effect, being used also to mark an 'antipassive' construction' (Dixon 1980:434). With this information only, it appears that Kriol is radically different from TA languages. However, he goes on to say, 'There are a few languages, scattered over the continent, that do not have any reflexive (or reciprocal) verbal affix. Instead, a reflexive construction can involve a special reflexive form of the appropriate pronoun, rather like in English (e.g. he cut himself). In Gumbaynggir, reflexive is shown by a regular transitive sentence with A and O NPs that have identical reference; the reflexive marker -*w* may optionally be added... In Western Desert there is a special bound clitic that signals reflexive or reciprocal (the choice effectively depends on the number of the S NP)' (Dixon 1980:434).

So Kriol *jelp* does share features with a few TA languages. It is not a verbal affix, transitivity is unchanged, and a single form is used for both reciprocal and reflexive. All of these features can be demonstrated from Walmajarri. It has a single morpheme -*nyanu* suffixed to the verbal auxiliary which equates (for this purpose) with the Western Desert enclitics. Although the NP is deleted where it is co-referent with the ergative NP (except where a body part needs to be specified), there is no change in the ergative case marking so transitivity is considered unchanged.

(5-45W) *Pinya pa-lu-nyanu piyirn-warnti-rlu kuli-ngu*
hit AUX-3:PL:S-REFL man-PL-ERG anger-ERG

'The men hit each other as they fought.'

(5-46W) *Lani ma-0-nyanu kanyji mangul-jarti-rlu*
speared AUX-3:SG:S-REFL thigh spear-COMIT-ERG

'The man speared himself in the thigh (in mourning).'

Walmajarri also allows co-reference between the ergative and dative noun phrases. Here the reflexive morpheme -*nyanu* signals co-referentiality of the subject and noun phrase in dative case. (Both are identified by cross-referencing in the auxiliary.) This parallels the Kriol reflexive use of *jelp* described at the end of 5.2 where I have analysed the dative as functioning adnominally. Compare a Walmajarri and Kriol example.

(5-47W) *Kamparni pa-lu-rla-nyanu kuyi nganpayi-warnti-rlu*
cooked AUX-3:PL:S-DAT-REFL meat man-PL-ERG

'The men cooked meat for themselves.'

(5-48K) ***Wi kin abam lil kut blanga jelp***

'We can have our own small court (a small court for ourselves.'

TA language influence on Kriol can be seen in the use of one form for both the reflexive and reciprocal functions. It applies also in the Bamyili dialect according to Steffensen (1979:123) but Sandefur, writing about Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects, describes separate morphemes for each: ***mijelb*** 'reflexive' and ***gija*** 'reciprocal' (1979:93f). (*Gija* has not been heard at Fitzroy Crossing and attempts to elicit it have been fruitless.)

The use of reflexive/reciprocal morpheme to mark restricted participants is not referred to by Dixon. In my own description of Walmajarri, I was unable to explain some sentences adequately because of the lack of examples. 'The reflexive in intransitive sentences is not often heard, and its meaning is difficult to define' (Hudson 1978:69).

(5-49W) *Purrku-jarrinya pa-lu-rla-nyanu piyirn-warnti*
old:man-became AUX-3:PL:S-DAT-REFL man-PL

'The men grew into old men.'

If *-nyanu* is analysed as having a restrictive function similar to Kriol, this example could be understood to mean 'The men grew up (in a group) separate from other people.' OR 'The men grew up in different places.'

Others have had similar problems in analysing TA languages. McKay has described Rembarrnga, a language from Arnhem Land. At the end of his discussion on reflexive/reciprocal forms McKay gives a set of examples 'where the REFLEX form appears to lack a full reflexive or reciprocal sense' (1975:285). For some of these it seems feasible to attempt a restrictive interpretation. The older Kriol dialects at Ngukurr and Bamyili also have the restrictive function. Sandefur's (1979:91ff) and Steffensen's (1979:122f) descriptions include examples of this for the morpheme ***mijelb*** 'reflexive' though they don't describe it as I have done.

PART TWO

SEMANTIC ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

In translating from one language to another, one is faced continually with choosing lexemes from the receptor language which are the nearest possible equivalents to those in the source language. As well as this, grammatical and phonological transference and choice of the correct speech act must be considered. Lyons gives an example of the difficulties of translating the simple sentence, 'The cat sat on the mat' into French. In regard to the lexeme for 'mat' there are several possible choices because of the denotational non-equivalence of the lexemes in the two languages. 'Is it a door-mat that is being referred to ('paillasson'), or a bedside mat ('descente de lit'), or a small rug ('tapis')—not to mention various other possibilities? There is a set of lexemes in English, 'mat', 'rug', 'carpet', etc., and a set of lexemes in French 'tapis', 'paillasson', 'carpette', etc.; and none of the French words has the same denotation as any one of the English lexemes. Each set of lexemes divides, or categorizes, a certain part of the universe of domestic furnishings in a different way; and the two systems of categorization are incommensurate' (Lyons 1977:238).

Similar problems exist in translating between Kriol (or Adult Pidgin) and English. However they are often obscured by the fact that the lexicon of Kriol is based almost entirely on English words and so Kriol appears to be a variety of English. When English speaking people come into contact with Kriol and Adult Pidgin they are immediately impressed by the phonological differences but soon 'tune in'. However, grammatical differences are more subtle and are often not seen as differences so much as mistakes in what is usually understood by English speakers to be an attempt to speak English.

The choice of a lexeme can also be seen as a mistake, when the Kriol or Adult Pidgin speaker uses a word in an apparently inappropriate context. Two common effects of this are miscommunication and loss of respect on the part of the English speaker for the intelligence of the Kriol speaker. An example of this is the incident when a Kriol speaker approached the hospital staff for help saying, ***Mai waip bin dran la riba*** 'My wife sank in the river'. Hearing this within the context of English, the nursing staff assumed that *dran* equated with 'drown' and called for police to bring the body to the morgue. They were subsequently astonished to find the man's wife sitting alive and well on the riverbank. The reaction, as it was expressed to me, was that the man was thought to be not too bright if he didn't know that his wife was not really dead. Kriol *dran* denotes an event in relation to the surface of a liquid. It does not give any information about the state of the entity which is affected. This affected entity can in Kriol be human, animate and it can *dran* in any form of liquid, e.g. a biscuit can *dran* in tea. The boundaries of meaning of English 'drown' and Kriol *dran* can be seen to be quite different yet there is an overlapping common core of meaning shared by the two lexemes.

Examples of similar misunderstandings in the Law Courts have been recognised by the Commissioner for Community Relations. In his Report on Racial Discrimination in 1979 he said, 'It has been established that Aboriginal English is a distinct language variant but is almost never interpreted by others present. The assumption is that the court understands Aboriginal English perfectly and that the Aboriginal has equal facility in standard and even legal English. This is an inadequate assumption in a multilingual society. Anglo-Australians believe they understand Aboriginal English completely because it uses English words, yet the words often have a different content of meaning.... In the absence of a proper interpreter service covering the full range of Aboriginal languages, I recommend that Aboriginal English should be explicitly recognised in the court system by acknowledging the need for it to be interpreted like any other language.'[12] Assumed knowledge of the etymology of a Kriol word does not assure an accurate interpretation of its meaning.

To provide a thorough comparison between a Kriol lexeme and one from English or Walmajarri, an analysis of the internal semantic structure of each lexeme as well as the external semantic relationship it has to other lexemes in the same language would be needed. Analytical methods are available such as componential analysis described by Nida, or Wierzbicka's explications using the semantic primitives of natural language. A study such as these would have provided far more explicit definitions than the glosses here are able to do. However, in this second part of the monograph I have chosen to give many lexemes which can illustrate the types of semantic change that have taken place rather than to concentrate on the detailed analysis of a small number of lexemes.

The next chapter deals with problems in assigning etymons to Kriol lexemes and includes examples of lexemes of uncertain derivation with alternative etymons offered for some. A small group of Walmajarri lexemes which seem to have been borrowed into Kriol are included here. Chapters 7 and 8 consist of lexemes with their meanings, illustrative sentences, grammatical and other notes. Those described in Chapter 7 are grouped according to concepts which originate with either Walmajarri or English. The individual lexemes illustrate the adjustments of meaning that have been made as the form has been taken from English into Kriol. Lexemes in Chapter 8 exemplify those for which meaning contrast with English words can be seen in terms of grammatical function or possibilities of co-occurence with other lexemes. The grouping of lexemes in these three chapters does not reflect clear-cut categories in the language but has been made for ease of description. There is potential for overlap in places and at times one lexeme could have been described in more than one section. Reference to Walmajarri and English is made throughout, wherever either of these languages provides a reference point for description of a Kriol lexeme. Walmajarri has been chosen here, as in Part One, because it is the one of which I have personal knowledge. If a possible English etymon is given with examples, it follows the English gloss and is preceded by the letter E. Where a Walmajarri lexeme is also relevant, this follows the English and is preceded by the letter W. Unless otherwise stated the gloss for the Walmajarri word is not known to be different from that given for Kriol.

CHAPTER 6

ETYMOLOGY

6.1 DIFFICULTIES WHICH ARISE IN ASSIGNING ETYMONS

The etymology of Kriol lexemes is of great interest to many, scholars and non-scholars alike. Assigning an etymon to a Kriol lexeme is attempted to some extent by most English speakers who come into contact with the language. But to ascertain the correct source of a lexeme many factors must be considered, two of which are the neutralisation of phonemes and lexical conflation.

6.1.1 HOMOPHONY

The neutralisation of phonemes when lexemes are taken from English into Kriol allows for a great deal of potential homophony. As described in Section 2.1 (Figure 2.3) there is no contrast between stops and fricatives in the basilect or 'heavy' Kriol. This is compounded by the lack of voicing contrast and the limited distinction of only five vowels. Large numbers of English words can therefore transfer into Kriol with a single phonological shape in some instances. Homophony would be expected with the following group of English words which all neutralise to one form, approximately ***bet*** in Kriol; pet, bet, vet, pat,bat, fat, vat, bed, bad, pad, fad. Some of these words—bet, vet, pat, pad, fad—have never been taken into Kriol to my knowledge. With others, confusion is avoided by the use of different Kriol lexemes for these concepts; 'pet' is in Kriol ***kwayitwan*** (E: quiet one), 'vat' would be ***bakiti*** (E: bucket), 'bed' is a ***bangk*** (E: bunk), 'bad' is ***nugud*** (E: no good), and the animal 'bat' (probably a flying fox) has a TA language name which would mostly be used. This leaves only 'fat' to equate with ***bet***. Although this is an over-simplification, it reveals that the language does have means for preventing confusion by massive homophony.

Grammatical devices are sometimes used to avoid homophony. The verb ***bak*** 'buck' has been limited in transitivity to avoid homophony with a swear word ***bak-am*** (derived from English 'fuck'). ***Bak*** 'buck' can only function intransitively and the goal of the action is encoded in the locative phrase.

> ***Det hos bin bak la mi***
>
> 'The horse bucked with/at me.'

Without knowing for each lexeme how Kriol has avoided homophony, an English speaker would have no certain way of identifying the meaning and source of words such as ***bet*** and ***bakam***. A sentence such as ***I betwan tharran keinggurru*** could mean that the animal is fat, bad or a pet. Indeed examples could be cited of misinterpretation of this very sentence.

6.1.2 CONFLATION

A second difficulty in ascertaining the etymology of Kriol words is caused by lexical conflation. Mühlhäusler, describing conflation with regard to the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin (1979:218ff), gives three different types which can be distinguished in that language:[13] (1) two phonologically and semantically related lexical items in English can be subsumed under a single item in the pidgin; (2) a single lexeme may have derived from both English and German where each had a lexeme similar in form and meaning; (3) it is possible for there to be chance similarity of form and meaning between lexemes in Melanesian languages and those in European languages and these can both contribute to the formation of one pidgin lexeme. For Kriol there is no likelihood of the second type of conflation since there has been only one superstratum language, but both the others can be illustrated.

There are a few words from TA languages that have chance similarities of form and meaning with an English word.[14] Two Kriol words which illustrate this sort of conflation are ***kan*** 'can't' and ***lukartam*** 'look after'. ***kayan*** is a negative in Walmajarri which is used to express inability. This is claimed by one fluent Walmajarri speaker to be a borrowing from English 'can't' but its function within the Walmajarri modal system denies this (see Hudson 1978:82). Kriol ***kan*** then could be considered conflation. ***Lukarti-karra*** in Walmajarri means to guard, watch over something either for the good or harm of the entity being watched. The similarity to English 'look after' suggests that the Kriol ***lukartam*** has had influence from both languages. Conflation from two lexemes in English is much more likely than these chance correspondences. The Kriol verb describing the action of spurring an animal when riding in a rodeo is *reikim* but in fast speech the storyteller of Text C pronounced it as *rakam*. This could have come from either or both English words 'rake' and 'rock'. A better example is given by Rumsey in an interesting unpublished article where he quotes data from Fitzroy Crossing. He points out that the lexeme *jigrid* could be from either 'secret' or 'sacred' since nearly everything sacred in Aboriginal society is restricted to certain people and so is also secret.

There are a large number of lexemes for which the etymology is fairly obscure. For example there is in Kriol a transitive verb *bidrum*, which means 'to spread something flat (usually on the ground) for a person or thing to lie on it'. Phonologically the most likely English etymon would be the noun 'bedroom'. However there is another semantically more likely word 'spread', which involves several phonological changes: the loss of initial /s/, the insertion of a vowel after the bilabial stop, metathesis of the consonants /r/ and /d/ together with deletion of the vowel /e/; and the addition of the final sequence /um/ which looks like the transitive marking suffix except for its lack of harmony with the previous vowel (see 2.3.1). This vowel harmony is present in another verb, *pridimat* 'to scatter, spread thing(s) over a flat area'. Some local opinion expressed to me was that both *bidrum* and *pridimat* come from English 'spread', so this could be an instance of conflation. Another Kriol verb, *pajoba* 'to gain supremacy where a clash of wills has occurred', provides difficulties in assigning an English etymon as it could have come from several: 'pass over', 'boss over', 'fuss over' to name a few. As it does not seem to occur in the Northern Territory dialects, it is possibly derived from or conflated with a Kimberley TA language word. The examples in Rumsey's article include suggested etymologies which brought completely new suggestions to my mind. He links 'cheeky' and 'sticky' as possible origins for Kriol *tjiki* which I gloss 'savage, dangerous'. Others he links are *deijim* from 'taste' and 'test', *lau* from 'allowed' and 'law', *bidim* from 'beat', 'feed', 'spear' and *jinik(ap)* 'sneak' and 'snake'.

In view of the issues raised above, I hesitate to make claims about the etymology of individual words. However, in the next two chapters a possible etymon is given for most Kriol lexemes. These are offered as educated guesses allowing that better alternatives may be suggested.

6.2 LEXEMES DERIVED FROM WALMAJARRI

The speech of Kriol speakers from a Walmajarri background is set off from those of other backgrounds by the frequent use of Walmajarri words. These are in the main common words which have well established Kriol equivalents, such as *manga* 'girl', *parri* 'boy', *kunyarr* 'dog' and do not warrant inclusion in the Kriol lexicon. A few words however have been heard frequently and are used by people from various language backgrounds. Where my language teacher could give no English derived Kriol word as an equivalent I have included the Walmajarri form in the lexicon. As there are only five of these in the data all are given below.

pirrki 'hot coals'

Dei bin kukum dempa la pirrki

'They cooked the damper on the coals.'

munda 'belly, abdomen'

Yu garra putum hatwan ston langa munda

'You put the hot stones in the belly (of the kangaroo to cook it).'

This is used in many Walmajarri idioms which express emotions but not so much in Kriol.

yaraba (exclamation)

This comes from Walmajarri *yara pa* which is literally 'He/she/it is well'. If spoken deliberately with low pitch and stress on each syllable it can have an illocutionary force of insolence. Examples given are placed in the context of verbal exchanges which were recorded between two speakers.

A. *Faya bin bern mi*
'I burned myself (at the fire).'

B. *Yarab*
'That's too bad.'

A. (adult) *Don pujumbat mi. Ai mait foldan.*
'Don't push me, I might fall.'

B. (child) *Yaraba*

A. - (a tirade of fast abuse)

mangei; parrei (exclamations) 'very good, excellent'

W: *manga* 'girl'; *parri* 'boy'

The last syllable is typically stressed, lengthened and has high pitch. There is a possible meaning difference implied by the choice of one or other of these exclamations but none shows up in the data. Two occurrences of *parrei* were uttered by girls talking in groups when no boys were present.

Borrowings. Kriol often borrows the main meaning-bearing morpheme from Walmajarri compound verbs (which in Walmajarri cannot be isolated) to express a fine point of meaning when a suitable Kriol word eludes the speaker. In Kriol these take full verbal status and can be inflected for aspect. The next two lexemes are examples of this.

wil 'disappear, move out of sight suddenly' (intr)

> *En wen i bin tern, i bin wil. I bin ting yuno, i bin jes ting yuno, i bin jes wotna - i bin jes wil.*
>
> 'And when it turned, it disappeared. It --- you know, it just --- you know, it just - what's that word - it just disappeared.'

dilaj 'persistently demand one's own way, pester either by requesting or refusing a request from someone else' (intr)

> *Wan boi bin dilajbat langa is mami fo mani til i bin pajoba*
>
> 'A boy pestered his mother for money till he got it.'
>
> *Dei dilaj jelp wen dei abam fait*
>
> 'They each demand their own way when they fight.'

6.3 LEXEMES OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

For many Kriol words the etymology is obvious. With nouns like *mit* and *gowena* there is little doubt that they are from 'meat' and 'goanna' respectively. For some there is no obvious meaning change, e.g. 'rain' > *rein*, 'river' > *riba*, 'eat' > *idim*, yet it is surprisingly difficult to find lexemes that have exact equivalence of both form and meaning. Although the etymology of all words presented here is somewhat speculative, there is a small group of words which either have no immediate resemblance to anything in English or Walmajarri or about which I am unwilling to commit myself to a suggested English etymon.

sama 'level, together'

> *Dupala bin sama en thrri bin bi biyain*
>
> 'Two were (travelling) together and three followed behind them (on motor bikes).'

samaram 'close together, draw level with another, resemble in size or appearance' (tr)

Wi bin samaram nathalat langa geim

'We drew level with the other team (a draw or beaten by only one point).'

pajoba 'gain supremacy where a clash of wills has occurred'

Det boi bin pajoba langa mi

'The boy persisted until I gave in to him.'

jamanjam 'challenge, blame, accuse'

(This could be from English 'summons'.)

I bin jamanjam olabat langa pulijmen

'He informed on them to the police.'

Orla kid jamanjam jelp

'The children pass the blame to each other.'

stendaram 'stun, cause head to spin' (tr)

(My language helper defined this word as ***Nakum ata sens***. (see Text C-50.)

Det tu men bin fait en det nathawan bin stendaram det men en det men neba git a lukin

'Two men were fighting and one stunned the other so that he couldn't fight back.'

saltamap 'chase, head off, cause to change direction as dogs and horses do when working with cattle'

(A homonym, ***saltamap,*** means to salt meat in order to preserve it. This no doubt derives from English 'salt'.)

Detlat dog bin saltamap wan dog from natha kemp

'Those dogs chased the other dog to keep it away from the camp.'

yawarda; timana	'horse' (The English derived ***hos*** is used also.)
gugunja	'sheep'
bibi	'caterpillar'

gardiya	'a European or European-looking person'
bogi	'bathe'

In a short but interesting article in 1937, Worms lists 'foreign' words which were then in use in the language of Aborigines of the Kimberleys. He includes *yawada* for horse and *gogonda* ~ *gogondyai* for sheep as words for which he could not trace any origin. Elkin, the editor of the volume, suggests in a footnote that *yawada* may be from the term *yaraman* which is said to have come from N.S.W. and carried by whites. Elkin's suggestion for *gogonda* is that it may have been taken from the name 'Gogo', then a sheep station (and now a cattle station) south of the Fitzroy River. Similarly, *bogi* is said to have come from one of the languages near Port Jackson and carried north by whites (Ramson 1970:43).

Playing cards have become central to the life of many, and a rich and expressive vocabulary is used in the gambling ring. A few of the game titles are from English, such as *poka* 'poker', *trikkard* 'trick card' and *jeilgeim* 'jail game' but others are not so obvious.

barruk	'a common gambling game based on poker'
jarru	'a gambling game centred on the spade suit'
tungkaj	'combination of cards giving a score of 12'
wanai	'combination of cards giving a score of 11'

CHAPTER 7

LEXEMES AND ASSOCIATED CONCEPTS

7.1 CONCEPTS FROM WALMAJARRI TRANSFERRED TO KRIOL FORMS

Often where the meaning of an English word is extended in its Kriol counterpart, this can be explained in terms of the semantics of TA languages as with the verb ***dran*** (described in the Introduction to Part Two) which can be translated in all contexts by the Walmajarri verb ***yurranti***. This is supported by evidence from a study of the meaning changes that occur when a morpheme is borrowed from a European language into a pidjin or creole. The work was done by George Huttar and results published in 1975. He took 20 polysemic root morphemes from Djuka, a creole in Surinam, and compared them with 43 languages: 13 of them were pidgins or creoles and 20 were other languages. His aim was to determine the extent to which their range of meanings in other languages are shared with Djuka. The results (which he admits are tentative) do not support the theory that such changes are due to the nature of the process of pidginisation and creolisation. Neither do they support the theories of semantic universals or monogenesis, but they suggest that the major factor is the linguistic background of those who speak languages other than the dominant one. Kriol speakers come from a linguistic background of TA languages and the influence from one of these, Walmajarri, is illustrated in the lexemes presented in this chapter. They are grouped according to broad categories of taxonomy, kinship, descriptives, attention and perception verbs, and terms relating to traditional Aboriginal culture.

7.1.1 TAXONOMY

In taxonomy, some Kriol terms have taken the English classification, but in most the traditional classifications are found. This results sometimes in a broadening and sometimes a narrowing of reference in the Kriol terms from that of English. A few Kriol lexemes referring to foods are given to illustrate this. The type of change in the first lexeme ***(mit)*** is clearly one of extension, and narrowing is illustrated in the second ***(taka)***. ***Lisid*** and ***gowena*** are adjusted to fit the edibility category of Walmajarri and ***sneik*** and ***frog***, which retain the English generic meaning, are included here as counter-examples and to illustrate other means by which Walmajarri distinctions are maintained in Kriol.

mit 'meat, edible game'

E: meat W: *kuyi*

A basic distinction of edible versus inedible is lexicalised in many TA languages with edible foods being marked by separate generic terms. This is maintained in Kriol and the component of edibility is included in the word ***mit*** which refers to any edible game, dead or alive (kangaroo, goanna, etc.) as well as fresh meat bought in a store. For some speakers ***mit*** also includes egg as does the Walmajarri *kuyi*. The egg is usually eaten along with the female animal, not after it has been laid. Here the meaning of ***mit*** has been extended from that of animal flesh used as food to include any game that is potential meat.

taka 'edible vegetable product'

E: tucker W: *miyi*

Cutting across the dichotomy of edible/inedible is a different one which contrasts animal and vegetable food, so that Walmajarri has a noun *miyi* to describe vegetable food and *kuyi* can only refer to meat (and egg). Kriol has applied this same meaning 'vegetable food' to the noun *taka* and the English meaning of 'tucker' referring to food in general is narrowed by Kriol to exclude meat.

lijid 'inedible lizard'

E: lizard W: (no equivalent)

TA languages have names for the various species and there are no generic terms for some categories which are recognised in English. For instance there is no equivalent in Walmajarri for the generic 'lizard'. Kriol has, in part, taken this generic categorisation from English but retained the distinction of edibility. Thus we get *lijid* referring to any lizard which is too small to eat, and *gowena*, a second generic noun, is used for those larger ones which are hunted and eaten.

Orla kid bin pleibat garra lijid.

'The children were playing with a small lizard.'

gowena 'large edible lizard'

E: goanna W: *kakaji*

The term *gowena* includes all lizards which are edible and excludes the skink. (A bluetongue is neither *lijid* nor *gowena* but has its own name *bulutang*. It is classified as *mit*.) The species names are often needed for specific reference since these animals play an important role in the life and diet of the Kriol community and TA language terms are used here, e.g. Walmajarri *wirlka* '(Gould's) sand goanna', *kakaji* 'printi, bungarra'. The Walmajarri term usually equated with *gowena* is *kakaji* though it denotes only one of the species included in the term *gowena*.

sneik 'snake'

E: snake W: *jilpirtijarti*

Walmajarri identifies each species of snake with a different name and contrasts poisonous from non-poisonous by the descriptive *kulipari* 'dangerous, apt to harm'. Many snakes are edible, but the poisonous and edible distinctions are not parallel and those which are edible are subsumed under the generic term *kuyi*. The literal meaning of Walmajarri *jilpirtijarti* is 'having intestines' and is used to refer to all snakes. Kriol uses *sneik* as an equivalent to *jilpirtijarti* and the edible/inedible contrast is not lexicalised though edible snakes are categorised as *mit*. The poisonous/non-poisonous distinction is made by adding the descriptives *tjikiwan* 'dangerous, apt to harm', or *poisinwan* 'poisonous' in contrast to *kwayitwan* 'tame, harmless'.

frog 'frog'

E: frog W: (no equivalent)

There are many edible species of frog which are all distinguished in Walmajarri by different names subsumed under the generic *kuyi*. Other frogs are used for bait or just avoided as is the common green frog. These have no generic term but each is known only by its species name. As with *sneik* Kriol has not lexicalised the distinctions of edible/inedible and uses the one term *frog* for all. Where a distinction needs to be made for specific reference, either the appropriate TA language word is used, or a descriptive phrase or word.

Wi go luk fo bigwan frog so wi kin idim.

'Let's go and look for some big frogs to eat.'

Wi gedam beit lilwan frog.

'We'll get small frogs for bait.'

7.1.2 KINSHIP

Kinship terms which derive from English are used frequently. However, these few terms are quite inadequate for a culture which has such complexity in this area. The result is that TA language terms are used for all kin relationships which require more specification. As the influence of Western culture has increased, the young people have paid less attention to the traditional culture and it is not surprising that an area requiring much effort to learn, such as kinship, should be among the first to be put aside. Some have learned the traditional system and for them the Kriol terms equate with lexemes in their TA language but others have taken the Western system and use the terms as in English to apply to the nuclear family. For this latter group the Kriol terms equate with English ones so they are not defined here. The examples below illustrate the Kriol terms as they are used by those who equate them with the TA language lexemes.

mami	'mother' (vocative and referential)
	E: mummy W: *ngamaji ~ ngama*
matha	(referential only)
	E: mother W: *ngamaji*

This term refers to mother, mother's sisters and all females who belong to the same subsection.[15]

dedi	'father' (vocative and referential)
	E: daddy W: *ngarpu*
fatha	(referential only)
	E: father W: *ngarpu*

Father, father's brothers and all males in the same subsection are included here.

anti	'father's sisters and other females in her subsection'
	E: aunty W: *pimiri*
angkul	'mother's brothers and other males in his subsection'
	E: uncle W: *kaka*

Anti and *angkul* are not normally used to qualify a proper noun as in 'Aunty Mary' but they can be used that way following English.

TA languages often distinguish siblings according to age but Kriol does not. However it does extend the range of meaning of sibling terms beyond the immediate family to include all people of the same sex who belong to the same subsection.

bratha ~ baba	'brother of a male or female and other males in the same subsection' E: brother W: *papaji* 'older brother', *ngaja* 'younger sibling'
sista	'sister of a male or female and other females in the same subsection' E: sister W: *ngapurlu* 'older sister', *ngaja* 'younger sibling'
kasin-bratha	'cross cousin - mother's brother's son, father's sister's son and other males in the same subsection' E: cousin, brother W: *parnku*
kasin-sista	'cross cousin - mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter and other females in the same subsection' E: cousin, sister W: *parnku*

The male/female distinction between *kasin-bratha* and *kasin-sista* is a little surprising as both English and Walmajarri make no such distinction here. Note that children of mother's sister and father's brother do not fit in with these 'kasin' terms for they share the same subsection membership as siblings (see *bratha* and *sista*).

7.1.3 TIME AND SPACE

The following set of terms represent temporal and spatial words where the TA language meaning has been embraced by the Kriol lexeme.

tudei	'now, today, somewhere in the proximity of the time of speaking - relative to context' E: today W: *jalarra*

> *Ai neba nou autu falaramap gowena, bat wanpala men bin shuwum mi en tudei ai nou.*
>
> 'I didn't know how to track goanna but a man showed me and now I know.'

fran 'ahead, in front of, first'

E: front W: *kajalurni*

Mela bin go garra motika. Pingali bin stap fran en
1:PL:EX PST go ASSOC car (name) PST stay front and

ai bin stap biyain.
1:SG:S PST stay behind

'We went by car. Pingali sat in the front and I sat in the back.'

Yu garra putum apsaiddan, en if wan antap-wei la
2:SG POT put upside:down and if one above-DIR LOC

yu fingga, yu garra putum la fran.
2:SG hand 2:SG POT put LOC front

'You turn your hand palm down, and if one (of the knucklebones) lands on the back of your hand, you (turn your hand up and) catch it in the palm of your hand.'

biyain 'behind, later, after, in relation to one's back'

E: behind W: *wartangurni*

Det parri bin slip-in biyain-wei langa yu.
that boy(W) PST sleep-PROG behind-DIR LOC 2:SG

'The boy is sleeping at your back.'

Wi bin jidan biyain-wei langa motika.
we PST sit behind-DIR LOC car

'We sat in the back of the car.'

Some spatial terms are used in Kriol for temporal reference as well as spatial, in the same way that Walmajarri combines spatial and temporal reference. Both *fran* and *biyain* are illustrated in the next sentence.

Det pitja bin stat fran en wi bin kam biyain.

'The film started before we arrived.'

7.1.4 ATTENTION AND PERCEPTION VERBS

The Kriol verbs *luk* and *lijin* have taken on the concepts from Walmajarri *nyaka* 'look, see' and *pinakarri* 'hear, listen, understand' respectively and with these Kriol lexemes, the contrast between a potential or actual result of the activity is made grammatically. Along with these, there are alternative transitive verbs ***siyim*** and ***eram***. All are listed below with the preposition which typically encodes the goal role (see 3.1.3 Examples 3-51ff).

Potential result	(intr)	*luk* + {*blanga*}	-	*lijin* + {*blanga*}
Actual result	(intr)	-		*lijin* + {*langa*}
	(tr)	***lukum*** + object	-	***lijinim*** + object
	(tr)	***siyim*** + object	-	***eram*** + object

The range of meaning between the two transitive verbs ***lijinim*** and ***eram*** is easy to define as only the former includes the concept of understanding. However the other pair, ***lukum*** and ***siyim***, are very similar and appear to be synonymous.

luk 'look, look for' (intr)

E: look W: *nyaka*

I bin luk bla is matha.

'He looked for his mother.'

lukum 'look at, see' (tr)

E: look W: *nyaka*

I bin lukum is matha.

'He saw his mother.'

siyim 'see' (tr)

E: see

Wi bin siyim wan faya berning la hil.

'We saw a bushfire burning on the hill.'

lijin 'listen for, take notice of, understand' (intr) (see also Text E-6, 17,18)

E: listen W: *pinakarri*

Ai bin lijin bla det motika.

'I listened for the car.'

Wi bin lijin la det men.

'We listened to the man.'

lijinim 'hear, listen to, understand' (tr)

E: listen W: *pinakarri*

Wi bin lijinim det men.

'We listened to the man.'

Det men kan lijinim Ingglis

'The man can't understand English.'

eram 'hear' (tr)

E: hear

Ai bin eram det motika kaminap.

'I heard the car coming.'

The lexeme ***najing*** can be used in Kriol where *jakarr* 'in vain' is used in Walmajarri. It carries the meaning that the activity was carried out but the result was negative. (It can be used with other verbs which have an anticipated result such as ***tjakam*** when used to describe the action of casting a fishing line but catching no fish. See 2.2.3 for an example of this.)

Wi bin luk najing bla yupala.

'We looked unsuccessfully for you.'

I bin lukum najing, no pipul la kemp.

'He didn't find anyone (Lit - looked unsuccessfully): there were no people in the camp.'

Ai bin lijin najing la det teiprikoda

'I listened unsuccessfully to the tape recorder (it doesn't work properly).'

Compare these with a Walmajarri example.

Jakarr	*ma-rna-∅*	*nyanya*	*nganpayi*
in:vain	AUX-1:SG:S-3:SG:O	saw	man

'I looked unsuccessfuly for the man.'

There are two other verbs which are of interest here because of the parallelism of meaning with a Walmajarri verb.

faindim 'find, notice, catch sight of'

E: find W: *parlipungka*

This verb is primarily used to describe an activity resulting from effort as when one has searched for something and found it.

> ***Wi neba faindim gowena tudei.***
>
> 'We didn't find a goanna this time.'

A common situation for the secondary non-volitional meaning is when a small baby who is still learning to focus its vision appears to look intently at someone in a group. This causes great excitement and the usual comment in Walmajarri is ***Parlipinya manta*** 'He noticed you' or in Kriol, ***I bin faindim yu.*** The next example also illustrates this meaning.

> ***Ai bin faindim lil Rona nau.***
>
> 'I just noticed little Rona (being carried past by her mother).'

bilibim 'believe, take notice of, obey' (tr)

E: believe W: *mapunikarra*

The meaning of ***bilibim*** is extended from the mental attitude of belief to include an active response of obedience to someone.

> ***I bin bilibimbat det najawan boi tu stil.***
>
> 'He took notice of the boy and joined him in stealing something.'
>
> ***Wi bin eram Mista P... bat wi neba bilibim.***
>
> 'We heard what Mr. P... said but we didn't obey.'

7.1.5 CULTURE-SPECIFIC LEXEMES

Some events specifically related to the Aboriginal culture are lexicalised in Kriol. Each of these has a direct semantic equivalent in Walmajarri.

teikapleis 'fight on behalf of someone else in their defence, physical or verbal; stand in for someone else who has been wronged, usually a relative' (intr)

E: take place W: *purntukangka*

Ai bin teikapleis blanga mai doda, en det najawan bin nakam mi garra stik.

'I stood in for my daughter (who had been insulted or attacked) and the other one hit me with a stick.'

skwerambek 'reciprocate, retaliate, payback by the same means-blow for blow' (tr)

E: square W: *purtayan* 'reciprocally'

Skwerambek det kid.

'Retaliate by doing it back to the child.' (mother advising her crying child)

trabul 'trouble, problem, difficulty'

trabulum 'cause trouble for someone by an action which places the relative in danger of a reciprocal vicarious attack' (tr)

E: trouble W: *kujikarra*

Orla kid bin meiking trabul langa kemp.

'The children were causing trouble for people in camp.'

I bin trabulum blanga im matha.

'By his actions he caused his mother to be in danger from someone else.'

owumbek 'give a gift in return for a gift received but not for a favour'

E: owe back W: *purtayan* 'reciprocally'

Equality of size or monetary value is not in focus (though it can include repayment of a loan of money).

Det men bin gibim is nyuwan motika langa is bratha, en is bratha bin owumbek im garra is ol motika.

'The man gave his new car to his brother to use and his brother repayed it by letting him use his old car.'

jumok	'smoke (as a fire smokes)' (intr)
jumokam	'smoke something as a cigarette; put into smoke as a cure or for protection' (tr) E: smoke W: *ngunyjurrikarra* 'place in smoke'

Wen det beibi lilwan, det mamiwan i jumokam jelp.

'When the baby is only newborn the mother places herself in the smoke (to ensure a good milk supply and stop bleeding).'

Dei jumokambat taka, kulus, haus.

'They smoke food, clothes, a house (after death).'

7.2 CONCEPTS INTRODUCED THROUGH ENGLISH

With the arrival of Europeans came many things that the Aborigines had never before seen or even heard of. As well as terms to refer to the objects themselves, words were needed to describe the different activities that came with them. The TA languages were able to accommodate these by either extending the meaning of existing lexemes (Walmajarri *lani* 'pierce' was used for 'write') or by creating new words from combinations of morphemes (Walmajarri combined *ral + purru* 'hair + purposive' to describe a comb). But for some, the English word was borrowed and remained the only lexeme for that concept. These introduced concepts, of course, form an integral part of Kriol and the words selected to describe them sometimes provide glimpses into a world view very different from that of Western Society.

7.2.1 NEW ITEMS

This first group of words are nouns which refer to introduced items.

supsup	'thick soup, stew made from meat and vegetables' E: soup
medijin	'a preparation used for internal and external application to cure illness; a liquid with a strong smell such as disinfectants and detergents' E: medicine
raning geit	'cattle grid' E: running gate

tinamit	'meat from a can either of the camp pie or stew variety' Reference is to the meat not to the tin. E: tin of meat
aiglaj	'spectacles' E: eye glass
pigipigi	'pig' E: pig
papap	'puppy' E: pup
jukjuk	'domestic fowl' E: chook
nenigut	'goat' E: nanny goat

Some animal names are reduplicated, others not. Ngukurr dialect uses the reduplicated form also for ***kapikapi*** 'calf' and *danggidanggi* 'donkey' but the forms at Fitzroy Crossing are ***kap*** and ***dangki***. Steffensen, speaking about the Bamyili dialect, says that these reduplicated nominals occur 'almost exclusively in the language directed to infants and young children' (1979:127), but it is my observation at Fitzroy Crossing that each word has the same form regardless of the presence of children. Possibly there has been a diminutive aspect about these forms in the past but today they seem to be the standard Kriol names for the animals.

7.2.2 NEW CATEGORIES

New categories of humans were introduced also, and Aborigines and Europeans are distinguished by the terms ***blekpala*** and *gardiya* with a special term ***misis*** for European women. As the Aborigines adapted to station and town life, a distinction between them and those who were still unlearned in the ways of the European was lexicalised in the term ***bushmen*** which now is used to refer to an animal which is not part of a herd controlled by man, e.g. wild donkey or horse.

Various industries have had their influences on the way of life and the language. The cattle industry provided the concept of a ***kila*** (E: killer) which is the beast killed and butchered for local consumption. It is often used to refer to fresh beef but never to the flesh of locally killed game. Unbranded cattle are referred to as ***klinskin*** (E: cleanskin) and when tape recorders became available through stores, the term was extended to include a cassette with nothing recorded on it. Miners cut seismic lines through the bush. These are called *katlain* (E: cut line) and have become local geographical reference points.

7.2.3 NEW ACTIVITIES

The routine of a working day had in it three features, *dina* 'hot midday meal including meat' (E: dinner), *sapa* 'evening meal, usually damper or bread' (E: supper), *kapardi* 'mid-work tea break whether or not tea is drunk' (E: cup of tea). The break from the routine was on Sunday which day is now called *wik* (E: week) and an *alidei* refers to 'time taken from a regular routine, either a vacation from work or a trip to a different place' (E: holiday).

The women were introduced to a new skill once clothes became part of life. Any form of sewing, either creation of a new garment or mending of an old one is referred to as *mendam* 'sew' (E: mend). Nurses brought relief from pain with their new medicines and most miraculous was the injection, lexicalised in the verb *nidilim* 'to inject' (E: needle).

The canvas groundsheet with blankets spread on top became the standard portable bedding. Each morning blankets, clothes and other valuables were rolled up together in a certain manner with the canvas as the outer covering and it became the swag. This way, property was protected against weather and dogs and served as a seat if needed. The action of rolling the swag is in Kriol *rulumap* (E: roll up). This is probably a new concept in that the Kriol word is also a loan word in Walmajarri and has no equivalent in the traditional vocabulary.

Housing, electricity and running water brought doors, taps and switches of various kinds. To gain access by means of these the verbs used are *opunum* 'open, turn on' (E: open) and *jarramap* 'close, turn off', (E: shut off).

> *I bin opunum det lait*
>
> 'He turned the light on.'

A new economy where money is needed to buy material goods has led to many new words, two of which are *tjakin* (E: chuck in) and *meil* (E: mail). (Both syllables receive equal stress in *tjákín*.) *Tjakin* is the money collected from voluntary contributions for use in community related projects and *meil* refers to income received by cheque, which normally arrives in the mail.

7.2.4 CONCEPT AND FORM MISMATCHED

Sometimes an English word has been associated with a concept related to but different from that which it means in English. This mismatching results in some unexpected meanings of Kriol lexemes.

gildi 'murderer, one who has caused the death of another by physical violence or other tribally recognised means'

E: guilty

The story is told of the man who was charged in Court with a minor offence and when asked if his plea was guilty or not guilty, he indignantly replied that he had never killed anyone.

king 'the best one (can refer to a leader, or to the strongest one of a group)'

Dijan da king.

'This (the bullock) is the strongest and biggest.'

kwesjinmak 'surprise, amazement, question mark'

E: question mark

Perhaps the first two meanings have come from reading comics where the use of a question mark indicates an attitude such as that in the next sentence.

I bin luk garra kwesjinmak.

'He was amazed (and it showed in his face).'

pulijmen flai 'bush fly'

E: policeman fly W: *limpa*

An interesting meaning transfer concerns the name for a particularly unpleasant insect. The Walmajarri name for this insect is *limpa*. It looks like a fly and is reputed to bite the eye, causing a very uncomfortable infection called *bangai* (E: bung eye). When the Walmajarri first met up with the police their experiences were not pleasant, for the police were known mainly for their activities of taking people by force to the cattle and sheep stations or to gaol. Various names were used in the TA languages for police. Among them in Walmajarri were *tarrpartarnujuwal* 'the one who is always grabbing' and *limpa,* the biting insect. Others in the area carried primary meanings of 'chaining horseman', 'severe looking', 'fierce', 'sour' and 'salty' (Worms 1937). The term *limpa* is the most common in use today among the Walmajarri, and an interesting lexical back formation has taken place in Kriol. The lexeme seems to have been reanalysed with 'policemen' as the primary meaning and the Kriol name for the insect is now ***pulijmen flai,*** while ***limpa*** is still known and used as the Walmajarri name for the insect. (Worms assigned the meaning 'sour, salty' to Walmajarri *limba*.)

CHAPTER 8

LEXEMES INVOLVING GRAMMATICAL AND COLLOCATIONAL CHANGES

Lexemes presented in this chapter are those which can be described in terms of grammatical and collocational changes that have taken place between English and Kriol. Grammatical change means that the primary meaning of a lexeme is similar to that of its English derivative but Kriol has assigned it different grammatical features. These include change of word class, transitivity, and valency. Collocational changes refer to the types of meaning transfer which enable different co-occurrence of lexemes, e.g. a transitive verb in English may take only an animate noun in its object but the Kriol parallel includes inanimate nouns in the object. There is some overlap between these grammatical and collocational changes as will be seen in some words particularly those dealing with change of valency.

8.1 GRAMMATICAL CHANGES

8.1.1 WORD CLASS

Kriol verbs, like those of TA languages, provide a fruitful area for semantic study. Many Kriol verbs are derived from lexemes of other word classes, frequently nouns. Sometimes Kriol retains the stem in both word classes as with the noun *taka* 'food' and the verb *tagat* 'eat'. This feature of multifunctionality as a means of word formation is widespread in pidgins and creoles (Mühlhäusler 1974:103). Examples are given of several Kriol verbs which appear to come from word classes other than verbs in English.

aut-um 'extinguish a fire' (tr)

E: out

Autum det faya garra wota.

'Put the fire out with water.'

toitj-im 'shine a light on something, usually with a flashlight'

E: torch

Wan men bin toitjimbat mela garra toitj.

'A man kept shining his torch on us.'

jelis-im 'envy, resent what someone else has and act to get it for oneself'

E: jealous

I bin jelisim det gel bla is boifren.

'One girl envied the other because of her boyfriend and set out to get him for herself.'

kapiket 'copy another person's action, make a copy of an entity as in printing'

E: copy cat

Dei garra kapiket dis buk la Peth.

'They will print this book (from MSS) in Perth.'

8.1.2 TRANSITIVITY

Kriol lexemes derived from English verbs are generally put into the intransitive verb category and a transitive verb formed by inflection (2.3.1). Those derived from strictly intransitive verbs in English and which are transitivised in Kriol provide surprises for the English speaker. The basic meaning is often not altered but an entity in a goal or patient role is encoded as object, resulting in a slight shift of meaning.

blidin 'bleed' (intr)

E: bleed

Wan boi blidin la kemp.

'A boy is bleeding (from an injury) in the camp.'

blidin-im 'cause to bleed, draw blood' (tr)

E: bleed

Det boi bin blidinim mi garra stik

'The boy hit me with a stick and drew blood.'

flai 'fly' (intr)

E: fly

Tu tarrki bin flai tharrei.

Two turkeys flew that way.

flay-im 'brush away, knock off something with a fast action causing it to fly through the air' (tr)

E: fly

Wen dei git wail dei flayim eniting laik tjeya, kap, pleit.

'When they get angry, they'll throw anything such as a chair, cup or plate.'

I bin flayim mai hen.

'He knocked my hand away.'

endap 'end up, reach an end point' (intr)

E: end up

Det said la riba mela bin endap no petirl.

'At the river there we ran out of petrol.'

endamap 'conclude, bring to an end' (tr)

E: end up

Dei bin endamap det fens la riba.

'They finished making the fence at the river.'

8.1.3 VALENCY

Some lexemes derived from English transitive verbs are also transitive verbs in Kriol, but the valency may differ by having an additional argument *(bleim)* or by a difference in the correlation of the semantic role and the argument which encodes it *(filimap, rabam)*.

bleim* ~ *bleimim 'inform against, accuse, blame' (tr)

E: blame

The one informed against (patient) is encoded as object and the locative phrase encodes the one who is informed (goal).

I bin bleimim mi langa det sista bla gibimbat im rongwan medijin.

'He told the nursing sister that I had given him the wrong medicine.'

Don bleim mi, ai garra go langa outel.

'Don't tell anyone that I've gone to the hotel.'

filimap 'put something into a vessel' (tr)

E: fill up

The vessel (goal) is encoded in a locative phrase and the entity transferred into the vessel (patient) is the grammatical object.

Ai bin filimap det wota langa det bakit.

'I put water into the bucket.'

The patient role can also be encoded as subject.

Det wota bin filimap det bakit.

'The water is (dripping from a tap) into the bucket.'

The receptacle is sometimes not stated overtly though one is implied. In the next example it may be a hand, skirt or flour bag.

Mi en Polin bin filimap plendi ngalungurru.

'Pauline and I gathered a lot of *ngalungurru*(W) fruit.'

Complete fullness is not in focus here, neither is it excluded. To express complete filling of something the adjective *fulap* is used. Both sentences below are acceptable but the second is preferred, probably because the complete filling of the river bed is essential to the concept of flood waters and the verb lacks that component.

Det fladwota bin filimap det riba.

'The floodwaters filled the river bed.'

Det fladwoata i fulap la riba.

'The river is about to burst its banks (Lit - floodwaters have filled the river).'

rabam 'steal, rob'

E: rob

The entity which is transferred (patient) is encoded as object.

Orla boi bin rabam blanga mipala motika.

'The boys stole our car.'

In the two examples in the data where the person robbed is specified (as here), a dative phrase functioning adnominally in the object identifies them. There is another verb with identical valency and apparently the same meaning: ***stilim*** from English 'steal'. A homonym *rabam* 'rub' occurs.

Am peining la mil, tumaj ai bin rabam jelp.

'I have a sore eye because I've been rubbing it.'

8.2 COLLOCATIONAL CHANGES

8.2.1 VERB-OBJECT

Some terms which were acquired through working with cattle or sheep have been extended in meaning to allow entities other than animals to co-occur with them. One such is ***majurum*** which probably came in through reference to mustering sheep and cattle but has been extended to gathering people into a group, or inanimate things into a heap. Ramson points out that 'muster' is originally a military term but was used in the Sydney area in reference to assembling convicts and it was extended from this to include assembling sheep (1970:41). Kriol again includes reference to humans and has taken it another step beyond its original meaning to include inanimates as well.

majurum 'muster, gather together'

E: muster

Detlat bin majurum jelp fo miting.

'They congregated together for a meeting.'

Ai bin majurumap detlat ston.

'I gathered the stones into a heap.'

katamat 'detach from the whole'

E: cut out (with the meaning of 'detach an animal from the herd')

It can refer to the action of separating off a section using an instrument or separating one entity from a group.

Katamat bla mi tu rib bon en katamat bigmob gats.

'Cut two rib bones and a lot of the intestines for me (when you butcher the animal).'

Wi garra katamat burluman tudei.

'We will be sorting the cattle today.'

Ai labda go en katamat det gel.

'I must go and bring that girl back (from an unacceptable alliance with a boyfriend or group who frequent hotels etc.)'

randamap ~ *ranamap* 'control the direction something (animal) will go by placing oneself in its path, as for rounding up cattle or sheep; encircle.'

E: round up, run up

Det dog bin tjeisim gowena, en Lili bin telam mi 'Ranamap! Ranamap!'

'The dog was after a goanna, and Lilly called to me, "Cut off its escape (and make it climb the tree where we can catch it)".'

Dei bin randamap tu bois faiting.

'They (the onlookers) encircled the two boys who were fighting.'

8.2.2 IDIOM

tatjam 'touch, have contact with'

E: touch

Morin bin tatjam det berd.

'Maureen touched the bird.'

The primary meaning is to touch with the hand but unlike English, the grammatical object can also be a place and some idiomatic usages have developed around this.

Wi bin kip wokin neba tatjam.

'We kept on walking but still didn't reach our destination.'

Am nat last tu tatjam det pleis.

'I know the place. I'm familiar with it from being there long ago. (Lit - I'm not the last one to touch that place.)'

8.2.3 SEMANTIC CATEGORIES

Many lexemes retain the same word class as their English etymons but the semantic categories may differ. This is illustrated below from nouns and quantifiers.

Nouns. The categories of count and mass merge in some Kriol nouns.

mani 'money, coin'

E: money (mass)

The question words *aumeni* 'how many' and *aumaj* 'how much' can be used to make the count versus mass distinction as in the next two examples.

Aumeni mani yu bin kauntum?

'How much money did you count? (Lit - how many coins).'

Aumaj mani yu garram?

'How much money do you have?'

das 'dust'

E: dust (mass)

Wan das kaminap biyain la yu.

'There's a cloud of dust coming toward you from behind (from a car travelling on a dusty road).'

Similarly the abstract/concrete distinctions are not made in some nouns.

fleiba	'tasty food'
	E: flavour (abstract)

This is a recent introduction to the language used by school children in the town. It hadn't reached one of the station schools when I visited there in May 1981. Its reference includes not only an abstract quality of an entity but also the concrete entity itself.

Bigmob fleiba mela garram.

'We have a lot of tasty foods.'

Quantifiers. Lexemes which are used in the noun phrase to express quantity or degree can be grouped on the basis of their collocational potential. This is greater in Kriol than it is for the English counterparts. Those occurring frequently in the data are presented in Figure 8.1. This is not an exhaustive list and is presented only to give a framework in which to describe the semantic categories of some quantifiers. For most there is no contrast between the categories of mass and countable things and in this they differ from English. If the quantifiers and word class can co-occur it is marked on the chart by X. The bracket in Group II indicates restrictions which will be explained later. Examples will be given for only one or two lexemes from each group to illustrate the categories as many of them have been included in examples elsewhere.

Group I lexemes can be used to express quantity or degree.

lilbit	'small, limited'
	E: little bit (mass)

Although 'little bit' in English cannot refer to countable entities there is no such restriction for *lilbit* as can be seen from the next example.

Ai bin lukum lilbit elifen, riliwan ai bin lukum.

'I saw a few real live elephants (at the circus).'

Gimi lilbit bet.

'Give me a small amount of fat.' - (See also Text E-17.)

FIGURE 8.1 COLLOCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers \ Collocational Potential			Count & Mass noun	Adjective	Directional	Temporal
I	*lilbit*	'small, limited'	X	X	X	X
	mo	'more'				
	tumaj	'very much, excessive'				
II	*prapa*	'very, genuine'	(X)	X	X	X
	rili	'real, very'				
	nomo	'NEG'				
III	*no*	'NEG'	X	–	–	–
	plendi	'much, sufficient, many'				
	lada	'much, many'				
	bigmob	'much, many'				

The next three examples illustrate degree with adjectives, directionals and temporals respectively.

I lilbit gud det mangarri.

'It's not too bad, the food(W) (maybe too salty).' - (See also Text B-3.)

Wen yupala bin go lilbit longwei, mela bin lukum yu

'When you were walking around a fair way off, we saw you.'

Ai garra teik yu lilbit koltaim.

'I will take you in the cool part of the day.'

tumaj 'very much, excessive; because'

E: too much (mass)

I tumaj lilwan dis motika.

'This car is very small. (We can't take any more people.)'

The lexeme *tumaj* differs from the others in this group for it also serves as a connective, meaning 'because'. The next example illustrates this function.

Ai kan dringkim dis ti, tumaj i swit.

'I can't drink this tea because it's too sweet.'

OR 'This tea is too sweet to drink.'

The lexemes in Group II differ from those in Group I in that they always express degree.

prapa 'very, genuine'

E: proper

With nouns, Group II quantifiers refer to the reality or genuineness of the entity, not the quantity.

Wi bin tagat prapa taka.

We ate quality food.'

Prapa and *rili* only occur with count nouns when suffixed by *-wan* (nominal) hence the brackets in the chart.[9]

Wi garra siyim prapliwan pitja, nat laiyawan.

'We're going to see a film which is a true story, not fiction.'

Adjectives, directionals and temporals are illustrated in the three examples below.

I bin git prapa wik.

'He got very tired.'

Wi bin go prapa longwei.

'We went a very long way.'

Wi bin stap deya prapa longtaim.

'We stayed there for a very long time.'

Group III lexemes are more restricted in occurrence. The lexemes only co-occur with nouns and always refer to quantity though no distinction is made between count and mass.

bigmob	'much, many'
	E: big mob (count)

In English 'big mob' is only used in references to countable items and this contrasts with Kriol (see also Text D-10).

Bigmob kid bin bogibat langa riba.

'Many children were swimming in the river.'

Bigmob wota bin kam raitap langa rud.

'The floodwater came up onto the road.'

CONCLUSION

Although this study has covered only some aspects of the Kriol language, it has provided evidence that Kriol is a language in its own right and not a dialect of English. Investigators who speak only European languages will no doubt see the English influence in Kriol as primary but by bringing in the TA language influence I have shown that this is of considerable significance and should not be discounted. It has not been the aim of this study to prove that TA language influence on Kriol is equal to that of English or that Kriol is genetically more closely related to one than to the other. Rather it has been to provide evidence of the unique system of Kriol and thereby encourage linguists, educators and others to stop viewing it through the eyes of English and begin treating it as a separate lanugage worthy of consideration along with TA and migrant languages.

Kriol and TA languages alike have an uncertain future as community languages. Bilingual education programmes in the Northern Territory schools are having a positive effect on preservation of the TA languages involved there. On the other hand influences from English continue to increase as the outback areas are opened up further by industries such as mining and tourism, and English education facilities are continually improved. These influences are very strong in the Fitzroy Crossing area and the arrival of television to the area in the near future will mean increased access to English for all Aborigines, young and old alike. In response to this Kriol could take one of two directions in the future. English may take over and become the first language of the next generation in the same way that Kriol has done for the young people of today. This would result in decreolisation of the language towards the standard as described by DeCamp (1971b). Alternatively, Kriol could be retained and a situation of diglossia develop where the whole community controls both English and Kriol in the way that a small section already does. Of the two possibilities, I believe the latter is the more likely because of the strong tendency towards this already, Kriol being used as a sign of identity within the Aboriginal community.

As for the balance between Kriol and TA languages in the Fitzroy Valley, it appears that Kriol will continue to be used as a first language for the young, though a TA language (particularly Walmajarri) could be retained as a community language, becoming a second language to many Kriol speakers. This is especially likely because of a recent change of attitude among the adults who have become aware that their own languages and culture are being displaced by English influences. Efforts are now being made towards having Aboriginal language and culture taught along with English subjects in community controlled schools. Only two such programmes are currently functioning but if others are able to be implemented, the effects could be far reaching in developing multilingualism

(English, Kriol and TA languages) in the next generation.

It is my hope that the material presented here will help to develop a more positive attitude to Kriol among the wider community and so contribute to better communication between Europeans and Aborigines in the north of Australia.

APPENDIX 1 - KRIOL TEXTS

Five texts are included to illustrate Kriol as it is spoken by people of various age groups. Text A is a story told by an 8 year old girl, B by an 11 year old girl, C by a 12 year old boy, D by a young adult in his late teens and E by a woman in her 30's. All were recorded on tape except Text B which was dictated. Text C was recorded out of hearing of the researcher. Two boys took the recorder and chatted for half an hour in seclusion. This is the fastest of all recorded stories collected and is typical of the speech of males from adolescence to late twenties. The text of 59 sentences is two minutes long. Because of the speed, and lack of access to the storyteller for transcription, the text was edited for presentation here by Diane Brooking but all translation is my own. For the other texts, I have both transcribed and translated them. At times a few words were inaudible and this is shown by three periods. The identity of participants is not necessary for understanding so names of people and sometimes places are shown by the initial letter followed by three periods. Walmajarri loan words are identified by (W) following the gloss.

There are some features of interest in the texts but not described in the analysis. Notes on these are given below.

1. The lexeme *ting* has two different functions. In A-21 it functions as a non-specific noun used when the speaker knows no name for the entity, but in A-25 and 29 it is functioning as a substitute for a specific lexeme which the speaker has in mind but cannot produce immediately. It can substitute for any stem and take the appropriate suffixes as in words such as *ting-bat* where it substitutes for a verb with the iterative aspect suffix. See also C-31 and 6.2. It is glossed 'hesitative' (HES) in interlineal translation. Its closest equivalent in English would be a colloquial word such as 'whatchamacallit' but in free translation of texts and examples *ting* is shown by --- indicating the hesitation on the part of the speaker. This lexeme is equivalent to one in Walmajarri, *nganayi* (Hudson 1978:86).

> *yani pajarra nganayi-jarra Mik-jarra*
> went AUX:1:DU:EX HES-DU (name)-DU
>
> 'Mick and I went.'

2. Another morpheme is glossed in two different ways reflecting that it functions in two ways in Kriol. It is *wan* which can be used as a numeral 'one' or as a marker of indefiniteness in the noun phrase. It is always singular, hence the gloss (IND:SG) and contrasts with the lexeme *orla* which is also indefinite but plural (PL) (see D-2,6; E-9,11).

3. The form ***mob*** functions both as a suffix and a free form. As a free form it means a group (D-13) and it is probably this same morpheme that appears in the compound ***big-mob*** meaning 'many, much'. The suffix *-mob*, while semantically sharing components with the free form, has a rather specialised function. It is suffixed to proper nouns and thereby includes those known to be associates of the person named, producing a plural noun (see A-18). Walmajarri has an equivalent suffix *-ngurra*.

Yijayi-ngurra palu pirriyani
(name)-COL AUX:3:PL came

'Yijayi and her family group have arrived.'

4. Joining of two names in a phrase can be done by the 3rd person dual pronoun *dupala* (D-3), or if the second referent is known to both the hearer and speaker this may not be specified as in D-11. Walmajarri uses the dual suffix in a similar way. See also example under Point 1 above.

Yijayi-jarra pila yani kurlirra
(name)-DU AUX:3:DU went south

'Yijayi and her friend went south.'

5. One discourse feature which is typical of TA languages is the use of intonation and repetition to express prolonged action. It is also a feature commonly heard in Kriol. This is the only intonational feature written in these texts and it is shown by a double colon after the lengthened syllable (e.g. go::). The syllable receives high pitch and is lengthened to a degree which matches the duration of the action being described. If it took several hours as in the travelling described in Text C (5,6,7 and 12,13,14) both intonation and repetition are used to emphasise the fact. See E-10 for another example.

6. Sentence introducers are used to varying degrees by different speakers. The common forms are *aftadet, aftatharran, fromde, fromtharran*. The last is a literal translation of Walmajarri *nyanarti-jangka* which has a parallel function and the first two are similar to English 'after that'. In Kriol and Walmajarri they tend to be used more frequently than in English. See Texts C-15,24,31,42,58,59; E-2,6,12.

7. Lexemes ***luk, si*** and ***yuno*** are used as emphasisers by young speakers in much the same way as 'you know' is used in some local dialects of Australian English. See Texts A-4, 27 and C throughout. Where *yuno* is an abbreviation for 'do you know...?' it is glossed 'you know' (A-13).

8. Features of 'light' Kriol can be seen in sentences B-12; C-3, 12, 21; D-6, 19.

9. Two verbs often share an object noun phrase. This is illustrated in C-9.

TEXT A - girl 8 years

This story is typical of those told by children of this age. The story teller is bursting to get the information out and makes false starts as in 10-12 and 24. After 12 she returns to tell the same episode again with more detail. The change of topic at 27 has a logical link because the truck was there when they returned home.

(1) *ai no ai garra tokabat hampibek-men* (2) *wara luk*
1:SG:S know 1:SG:S POT talk:about humpback-man EXCL(W) look

det hampibek tharra (3) *wot tharran tharr-ei laika* (4) *long-taim yuno*
that humpback there what that that-DIR like long-time EM

wen mela bin go tharr-ei la swing-swing mela bin luk-um hampibek
when 1:PL:EX PST go that-DIR LOC swing-REDUP 1:PL:EX PST look-TR humpback

(5) *i bin big* (6) *en mela bin ran fas tharr-ei la Janjuwa ...*
3:SG:S PST big and 1:PL:EX PST run fast that-DIR LOC (name)

(7) *en mela bin sei 'wara'* (8) *mela bin ran den* (9) *mela*
and 1:PL:EX PST say EXCL(W) 1:PL:EX PST run then 1:PL:EX

bin ran (10) *P ... bin prei fo mela* (11) *en en i bin*
PST run (name) PST pray PURP 1:PL:EX and and 3:SG:S PST

er-am-bat mela hat (12) *en i bin go* (13) *P ... bin sei*
hear-TR-ITER 1:PL:EX heart and 3:SG:S PST go (name) PST say

'A-l lisin la yupala turlpu' hat yuno (14) *en i*
1:SG:S-POT listen LOC 2:PL heart(W) heart you:know and 3:SG:S

bin er-am (15) *i bin go tuktuktuktuk* (16) *i bin go rili*
PST hear-TR 3:SG:S PST go ONOM 3:SG:S PST go really

fas (17) *afta-det P ... bin prei* (18) *en det F...-mob bin go*
fast after-that (name) PST pray and that (name)-COL PST go

garra is baik (19) *i bin rip-im garra is blu-wan* (20)
ASSOC 3:SG:P bike 3:SG:S PST speed-TR ASSOC 3:SG:P blue-NOM

en ai bin heing-ing la bek (21) *ai bin hold-am-bat det bek*
and 1:SG:S PST hang-PROG LOC back 1:SG:S PST hold-TR-ITER that back

ting (22) *en mela bin jidan* (23) *mela bin tel-ing stori* (24)
thing and 1:PL:EX PST sit 1:PL:EX PST tell-PROG story

en ai bin sei (25) *en mela bin go ting den* (26) *mela bin*
and 1:SG:S PST say and 1:PL:EX PST go HES then 1:PL:EX PST

go bek kemp den (27) *si B... yuno i garra trak* (28) *en i*
go back home then EM (name) EM 3:SG:S ASSOC truck and 3:SG:S

garra plendi timana (29) *en i garra ting ka laika tharr-an deya*
ASSOC much horse and 3:SG:S ASSOC HES car like that-NOM there

laika det ol-wan bat i garra keliko antap-wei
like that old-NOM but 3:SG:S ASSOC canvas above-DIR

(1) I know I'm to talk about the humpbacked man. (2) [2 and 3 - Interjection by a bystander] Hey. Look at the humpback there. (3) What's that over there? (4) A long time ago, when we were over there at the swings we saw a humpback. (5) He was big. (6) Then we ran fast to Junjuwa ... (7) and we called out 'Help!' (8) We ran then, (9) we kept running. (10) P ... prayed for us (11) and she listened to our heartbeat (12) and (our hearts) went -. (13) P ... said, 'I'll listen to your turlpu.' (That means heart you know.) (14) And she heard it. (15) It went thump thump thump thump. (16) It went really fast. (17) After that P ... prayed. (18) Then F ... and friends rode her bike. (19) She was speeding on her blue bike (20) and I was hanging on behind. (21) I was holding onto the thing on the back. (22) Then we sat down. (23) We were telling stories (24) and I said, - (25) Then we went to --- (26) we went back home then. (27) And you know B ..., he has a truck (28) and he has a lot of horses (29) and he has a car, like that one there, like that old one but it has a canvas top.

TEXT B - girl approx 11 years (dictated)

(1) *det kampiny bin bi yelo* (2) *en i bin bi bran atsaid-wei*
that egg(W) PST COP yellow and 3:SG:S PST COP brown outside-DIR

(3) *en i bin bi lilbit swit* (4) *en i bin teist nais* (5)
and 3:SG:S PST COP limited sweet and 3:SG:S PST taste nice

en L... bin id-im det kampiny i-self (6) *if mai mami*
and (name) PST eat-TR that egg(W) 1:SG:S-REFL if 1:SG:P mother

garra ged-am natha kakaji ai garra id-im mai-self (7) *det*
POT get-TR another goanna(W) 1:SG:S POT eat-TR 1:SG:P-REFL that

kampiny garra bi kuk fes (8) *en afta-tharran ai garra gib-im*
egg(W) POT COP cooked first and after-that 1:SG:S POT give-TR

L... skin seim-wei wen i bin gi-mi fes-taim (9) *en wen*
(name) skin same-DIR when 3:SG:S PST give-1:SG:O first-time and when

L... garra bi nat-ful (10) *ai garra laf langa im* (11) *en*
(name) POT COP not-full 1:SG:S ASSOC laugh LOC 3:SG:O and

ai garra bi ful (12) *en maiti L... garra duw-um seim langa*
1:SG:S POT COP full and maybe (name) ASSOC do-TR same LOC

mi egen (13) *if i duw-um wanmotaim ai kan duw-um-bek*
1:SG:O again if 3:SG:S do-TR another:time 1:SG:S NEG do-TR-back

langa im
LOC 3:SG:O

(1) The [goanna] egg was yellow (2) and it had a brown skin [soft shell] (3) and it was quite tasty: (4) it tasted nice. (6) If my mother should get another goanna [with an egg inside] I will eat it all myself. (7) The egg has to be cooked first, (8) and after it's cooked I will give L... the skin only, which was what she gave me last time. (9) And when L... is still hungry, (10) I will laugh at her (11) but I'll be satisfied. (12) Maybe L... will retaliate and do the same thing to me again. (13) If she does it again, I won't retaliate a second time.

TEXT C - boy 12 years

(1) *mela bin go la M... den garra det ailaks yuno det*
1:PL:EX PST go LOC (name) then POT that (name) you:know that

arinj ailaks (2) *en mela bin go gudwei* (3) *mela bin meikit*
orange (name) and 1:PL:EX PST go good:way 1:PL:EX PST make:it

thru da big riba (4) *K... bin put-um la fowildraib* (5) *mela*
through the big river (name) PST put-TR LOC 4:wheel:drive 1:PL:EX

bin go (6) *mela bin kipgoun* (7) *mela bin go* (8) *mela bin opun*
PST go 1:PL:EX PST continue 1:PL:EX PST go 1:PL:EX PST open

det geit (9) *mela bin siy-im imyu bin breikat na* (10) *mela*
that gate 1:PL:EX PST see-TR emu PST start:to:run EM 1:PL:EX

bin tjeis-im-ap (11) *mela bin kil-im na* (12) *wi bin gow-in ap ta*
PST chase-TR-up 1:PL:EX PST kill-TR EM we PST go-PROG up to

M... (13) *wi bin go* (14) *wi bin gow-in* (15) *afta-tharran wi bin*
(name) we PST go we PST go-PROG after-that we PST

git la W... krik (16) *wi bin go thru ol rod* (17) *wi bin*
become LOC (name) creek we PST go through old road we PST

meikit (18) *wi bin meikit rait* (19) *K... bin put-um la*
make:it we PST make:it right (name) PST put-TR LOC

fowildraib bat i neba meikit yuno (20) *i neba ab no*
4:wheel:drive but 3:SG:S NEG make:it EM 3:SG:S NEG have NEG

shitibain dan (21) *en i bin bog rait dan tu da dif*
sheet:iron down and 3:SG:S PST bog right down to the differential

(22) *wel i neba meikit na* (23) *i bin stak deya* (24)
well 3:SG:S NEG make:it EM 3:SG:S PST stuck there

afta-tharran wi bin wandringran (25) *no dina we bin ab-am* (26)
after-that we PST wandering:around NEG dinner we PST eat-TR

en K... bin go la bush (27) *i bin faind-im wan bigis*
and (name) PST go LOC bush 3:SG:S PST find-TR IND:SG very:big

wotamelin luk (28) *mi B... en J... bin it det wotamelin luk*
watermelon EM 1:SG:S (name) and (name) PST eat that watermelon EM

(29) *i bin singat langa mela en nomo blok bin kam la mela*
3:SG:S PST call LOC 1:PL:EX and NEG man PST come LOC 1:PL:EX

(30) *wi bin id-im-ap* (31) *Afta-tharran ting bin kam blekdoa* (32) *i*
we PST eat-TR-up after-that HES PST come (name) 3:SG:S

bin kam en i bin si as from deya (33) *i bin pul ailaks*
PST come and 3:SG:S PST see us ABL there 3:SG:S PST pull (name)

at (34) *en wi bin go ab-am prapa dina la M...* (35) *wen wi bin*
out and we PST go eat-TR real dinner LOC (name) when we PST

kam-bek we bin luk fo orla stokmen na (36) *en we bin siy-im* (37)
come-back we PST look PURP PL stockman EM and we PST see-TR

dei bin kam-in-at from ting yuno (38) *wi bin go* (39) *wi bin siy-im-bat*
3:PL PST come-PROG-att ABL HES EM we PST go we PST see-TR-ITER

ting orla stokmen tharrei en das (40) *wi bin go en wi bin luk na*
HES PL stockman that:way and dust we PST go and we PST look EM

(41) *wi bin siy-im helikapta majur-in sam burluman* (42) *en*
we PST see-TR helicopter muster-PROG some cattle and

afta-tharran wan bul bin breikat (43) *wi bin tjeis-im-ap garra*
after-that IND:SG bull PST start:to:run we PST chase-TR-up ASSOC

ailaks (44) *wi bin tjeis-im-ap* (45) *i bin go-dan la klif* (46) *det*
(name) we PST chase-TR-up 3:SG:S PST go-down LOC cliff that

big bul bin lid-im-bat detlat buluk en ting bul (47) *det buluk*
big bull PST lead-TR-ITER those bullock and HES bull that bullock

bin ab-am bigis hon luk (48) *ailaks bin kam en blekdoa bin go*
PST have-TR very:big horn EM (name) PST come and (name) PST go

grrr (49) *i bin bamp-am luk* (50) *i bin jes stendar-am luk*
ONOM 3:SG:S PST bump-TR look 3:SG:S PST just stun-TR EM

(51) *wen blekdoa bin bamp-am en i bin drap-am luk* (52) *wi bin*
when (name) PST bump-TR and 3:SG:S PST drop-TR EM we PST

kat-am hon (53) *wi bin si det helikapta bin wek-am* (54) *we i*
cut-TR horn we PST see that helicopter PST work-TR REL 3:SG:S

bin tjeis-im det burluman i bin gibirr-im turlturlturlturl
PST chase-TR that cattle 3:SG:S PST give-TR ONOM

bekweds-wei (55) *i bin git naitaim na* (56) *orla stokmen bin*
backwards-DIR 3:SG:S PST become night EM PL stockman PST

silip langa B... boa (57) *wi bin stap-in silip-in la B...*
sleep LOC (name) bore we PST stay-PROG sleep-PROG LOC (name)

boa (58) *afta-tharran wi bin go tu ting kam-bek langa N...* (59) *en*
bore after-that we PST go to HES come-back LOC (name) and

afta-tharran wi bin go silip
after-that we PST go sleep

(1) We went to M... then in the Hilux (4-wheel drive utility) you know that orange Hilux. (2) And we went for a long way. (3) We were able to get through the river which was flowing over the cement crossing. (4) K... put the vehicle into 4-wheel drive (to get through). (5) We travelled a long way. (6) We went on and on, (7) we travelled still further. (8) We (stopped to) open the gate. (9) we saw an emu and it started to run. (10) We chased it till we caught up to it, (11) then we killed it. (12) We kept on going to M... (13) We went a long way.

(14) We kept on going. (15) Then we came to W... creek (no cement crossing). (16) We went through on the old track. (17) We were getting through, (18) we continued to move alright. (19) K... put the vehicle into 4-wheel drive but he couldn't get it right through (the boggy place), (20) because he didn't put any iron down to drive on. (21) And the utility was bogged. It sank until the differential was in the mud. (22) Well he didn't make it that time, (23) it was stuck there. (24) After that we just wandered around. (25) We had no dinner. (26) K... went into the bush. (27) He found a very big watermelon. (28) B..., J... and I ate the watermelon. (29) He (K...) called out to us and none of the others came (30) so we ate the lot. (31) After that the other vehicle came, the one we call Blackdoor (a white Holden with one door painted black). (32) It came and they saw us from the new road. (33) Blackdoor pulled the Hilux out of the bog. (34) Then we went and had a proper meal at M... (35) When we came back, we looked for the stockmen (36) and we saw them. (37) They were coming out from ___. (38) We went (39) and we were looking at ---, the stockmen over there and there was a lot of dust too. (40) We went and watched them. (41) We saw the helicopter mustering some cattle. (42) And then one bull broke out from the mob. (43) We chased it in the Hilux. (44) We chased it (45) but it went down the slope (where the utility could not go). (46) That big bull was leading the other bullocks and --- bulls. (47) That bullock had really big horns. (48) The Hilux came up to him and Blackdoor went rrrr. (49) It bumped the bullock. (50) It just stunned it (51) when Blackdoor bumped it then it collapsed (52) and we cut off its horns. (53) We saw the helicopter working. (54) When he was chasing the cattle he would reverse the machine making it go throb throb throb throb. (55) It got dark then (56) and the stockmen slept at B... bore. (57) We stayed there and slept at B... bore too. (58) After that we went to --- we came back to N... (59) And after that we went to sleep.

TEXT D - man in his late teens

(1) *las wik mipala bin go langa Debi garra A... bla motika* (2)
last Sunday 1:PL:EX PST go LOC (name) ASSOC (name) DAT car

en wen wi bin kam-bek wi bin ab-am dina langa wan winmil (3)
and when we PST come-back we PST eat-TR dinner LOC IND:SG windmill

en den a bin tel-am A... dupala D... 'wi go luk fo kakaji'
and then 1:SG:S PST tell-TR (name) 3:DU (name) we go look PURP goanna(W)

(4) *en A... bin sei 'okei wi go garra motika'* (5) *mipala bin go en*
and (name) PST say okay we go ASSOC car 1:PL:EX PST go and

wi bin git bog (6) *en wi neba ab-am eniting tu get-am-at with*
we PST become bogged and we NEG have-TR anything to get-TR-att with

ani wan ol jek (7) *en D... bin go get-am-bat orla shitibain*
only IND:SG old jack and (name) PST go get-TR-ITER PL sheet:iron

(8) *en afta-det wi bin tray-im-at bat wi neba bin pul-um-at* (9)
and after-that we PST try-TR-att but we NEG PST pull-TR-att

wi bin weit til det wota bin git drai (10) *en from deya mipala*
we PST wait until that water PST become dry and from-there 1:PL:EX

get-am bigmob gras put-um andanit la det motika la taya (11) *en*
get-TR much grass put-TR under LOC that car LOC tyre and

a bin tray-im-at en D... dupala bin lipt-im-ap en push-um
1:SG:S PST try-TR-att and (name) 3:DU PST lift-TR-up and push-TR

seim-taim (12) *en wen wi bin meikit wi bin git rili hepi* (13)
same-time and when we PST make:it we PST become really happy

en den wi bin go-bek la dinakemp bla dis atha mob (14) *dei*
and then we PST go-back LOC picnic:spot DAT this other group 3:PL

bin weit-in bla mipala (15) *from-deya wi bin si dem langa teingk*
PST wait-PROG DAT 1:PL:EX from-there we PST see 3:PL:O LOC tank

(16) *en dei bin siy-im mipala kam-in-ap* (17) *en den dei bin*
and 3:PL PST see-TR 1:PL:EX come-PROG-up and then 3:PL PST

tel-am mela 'wi bin kuk-um ti en ebriting deya redi' (18) *en*
tell-TR 1:PL:EX we PST cook-TR tea and everything there ready and

afta-det wi bin ab-am sapa (19) *en wen wi bin git bek*
after-that we PST eat-TR evening:meal and when we PST become back

iya la Fitrai mipala bin ava gud bogi (20) *en wi bin go silip*
here LOC (name) 1:PL:EX PST have good bathe and we PST go sleep

(1) Last Sunday we went to Derby in A...'s car. (2) When we were coming back we had dinner at a windmill. (3) Then I said to A... and D..., 'Let's go and look for a goanna.' (4) A... said, 'Okay. We'll go in the car.' (5) We went and we got bogged. (6) We didn't have any equipment to get it out with, only an old jack. (7) And D... went to try and find some old sheets of iron. (8) After that we tried but we couldn't get it out of the bog. (9) We waited till the water dried up in the bog (10) and after that we got a lot of grass and put it under the wheels. (11) Then we tried again; I drove and D... and the other one lifted the car and pushed at the same time. (12) When we succeeded we were really happy. (13) Then we went back to the picnic spot where the others were. (14) They were waiting for us. (15) After a while we saw them on the tank

(16) and they saw us coming. (17) They told us, 'We have made tea and cooked food. It's all ready for you.' (18) After that we ate our meal (19) and when we got back here to Fitzroy Crossing we had a good shower (20) and went to sleep.

TEXT E - Woman 30-40 years

(1) *Long-taim wen ai bin go skul la Gogo* (2) *from-deya ai*
long-time when 1:SG:S PST go school LOC (name) from-there 1:SG:S

bin go-bek J... (3) *den gardiya bin pik-im-ap mipala en teik*
PST go-back (name) then European PST pick-TR-up 1:PL:EX and take

mipala langa mishin long-taim (4) *en deya wen mipala bin lil-il*
1:PL:EX LOC mission long-time and there when 1:PL:EX PST small-REDUP

kid mipala yusdu tok-in Walmajarri (5) *sam-taim gardiya bin gib*
child 1:PL:EX used:to talk-PROG (name) some-time European PST give

mipala haiding fo tok-in Walmajarri (6) *from-deya mela bin*
1:SG:S hiding PURP talk-PROG (name) from-there 1:PL:EX PST

lisin-ing sam-pala kid bin tok-in Kriol (7) *mela bin lisin-ing*
listen-PROG some-NOM child PST talk-PROG (name) 1:PL:EX PST listen-PROG

en pik-im-ap lilbit (8) *from-deya mela bin go-bek alidei* (9)
and pick-TR-up limited from-there 1:PL:EX PST go-back holiday

kam-bek lisin en tok-in garra orla kid (10) *tok-in mela*
come-back listen and talk-PROG ASSOC PL child talk-PROG 1:PL:EX

bin tok-in: (11) *mela bin pik-im-ap det wed from orla atha-lat*
PST talk-PROG 1:PL:EX PST pick-TR-up that language from PL other-NOM

kid (12) *from-deya mela bin kipgoun tok-in Kriol* (13)
child from-there 1:PL:EX PST continue talk-PROG (name)

from-tharran ai neba figit-im det wed til tudei (14) *ai*
from-that 1:SG:S NEG forget-TR that language until now 1:SG:S

tok dis-wan Kriol nau (15) *en sam-taim ai tok la mai pipul*
talk this-NOM (name) now and some-time 1:SG:S talk LOC 1:SG:P people

garra Walmajarri (16) *en go-bek la skul tok la lil-il kid*
ASSOC (name) and go-back LOC school talk LOC small-REDUP child

Kriol so dei kin lern prapli (17) *en tok lilbit Walmajarri so*
(name) so 3:PL can learn properly and talk limited (name) so

dei kin lisin (18) *wen orla kid don lisin la gardiya-wei*
3:PL can understand when PL child NEG listen LOC European-DIR

Inglis ai tok Kriol en main lengwij Walmajarri
English 1:SG:S talk (name) and 1:SG:P language (name)

(1) A long time ago I went to school at Gogo. (2) Then I went back to J... [and no school]. (3) Then a white person picked us up and took us to the mission. It was a long time ago. (4) There, when we were only small, we used to talk Walmajarri. (5) Sometimes the whites would give us a hiding for talking Walmajarri. (6) After that we were listening to some of the children talking Kriol. (7) We were listening and we learned some of it. (8) Then we went home for holidays. (9) We came back and listened and talked [Kriol] with the other children. (10) We used to talk; (11) we talked a lot and we learned that language from the others. (12) After that we kept on talking Kriol. (13) I've never forgotten it, right up till now. (14) I still talk this Kriol now. (15) And some times I talk to my relatives in Walmajarri (16) then I go back to school [working as teacher] and talk to the small children in Kriol so they can learn [their lessons] properly (17) and I talk some Walmajarri to them so they can understand [the content of lessons]. (18) When children can't understand English I talk to them in Kriol and my own language Walmajarri.

APPENDIX 2 - EXCERPTS FROM ADULT PIDGIN TEXTS

Text I

The speaker is a man in his late 40's who has a Walmajarri background. He speaks Walmajarri, Adult Pidgin/Kriol and some English. He is popular among the youth as a storyteller and leader and is reputed to speak Kriol, yet the text reveals a few expressions not so far heard in speech of younger people. They are underlined the first time they occur.

(1) ... *orait det gel gedap prapa naitaim nomo san gedap* (2)
alright that female get:up very night NEG sun get:up

gel gedap fes meik-im faya ti ebriting blanganda boi (3)
female get:up first make-TR fire tea everything DAT male

redi-pala blanganda det ed takmen (4) *i kuk-um ebriting*
ready-NOM DAT that head stockmen 3:SG:S cook-TR everything

pinij (5) *boi gedap* (6) *put-um-on but ebriting pinij het* (7)
complete male get:up put-TR-on boot everything complete hat

raito i ged-am penikin (8) *i go langa faya* (9) *i jidan* ...
right 3:SG:S get-TR mug 3:SG:S go LOC fire 3:SG:S sit

(10) *ai dono yang-pala garra teikoba nau* (11) *tok prapa ai-pala*
1:SG:S NEG young-NOM ASSOC take:over now talk very high-NOM

*Inggli*s (12) *nomo laik mi dijan am tok-in tudei* (13) *pinij*
English NEG like me this 1:SG:S talk-PROG now complete

na (14) *yang-yang-pala gel langa skul wi garram det gud-wan* (15)
EM young-REDUP-NOM female LOC school we ASSOC that good-NOM

*maitbi mipalas kan lijin prapli langa waitpala gud Inggli*s *prapli*
maybe 1:PL:EX NEG understand properly LOC European good English very

(16) *detlat yang-pala teik-im nau* ...
those young-NOM take-TR now

(1) ... Well, that woman gets up while it's still dark, before the sun rises. (2) The woman gets up first and lights the fire, makes tea and prepares everything for the man; (3) makes it ready for the head stockman. (4) She cooks everything and finishes it. (5) Then the man gets up; (6) he puts on his boots and all, a hat as well. (7) Righto, he gets his enamel drinking mug and (8) goes to the fire. (9) He sits down there... (10) Well, the young ones will take over now. (11) They talk real

English, (12) not like me. I speak this language I'm using now. (13) The old era is over now. (14) Our young girls are in school now and that's good. (15) Maybe we don't understand the whites who speak English properly, (16) so the young ones will take over (this role) now....

Text II

Speaker is a woman in her 50's with a Walmajarri background. She speaks several traditional languages and Adult Pidgin, all freely and with confidence. My language teacher, after listening to the tape, was hard pressed to give an interpretation for the last half of this section. The English given below is my version of the story as I understood it at the time rather than a direct translation, so the sentences are not numbered.

...	*wel*	*a*	*bin*	*pinij*	*teik-im-at*	*dredi*	*a*	*bin*	*bogi*	*na*
	well	1:SG:S	PST	complete	take-TR-att	dress	1:SG:S	PST	bathe	EM

a::	*i*	*bin*	*teik-im-at*	*biyain-wan*	*na*	*i*	*bin*	*bogi*	*pinij*
	3:SG:S	PST	take-TR-att	behind-NOM	EM	3:SG:S	PST	bathe	complete

jamp-in	*mipala*	*bin*	*bogi-bat*	*e::*	*pinij*	*werr-am*	*dredi*	*mindupala*	*bin*
jump-in	1:PL:EX	PST	bathe-ITER		complete	don-TR	dress	1:DU:EX	PST

ged-am	*wota*	*na*	*kipgoun*	*kipgoun*	*kipgoun*	*kipgoun*	*wi*	*bin*	*jandap*	*iya,*
get-TR	water	EM	continue	continue	continue	continue	we	PST	stand	where

'wi	*garra*	*jilip*	*iya*	*ol*	*wumun'*	*a*	*bin*	*tel-am,*	*'ħ?ħ'*	*i*	*bin*
we	POT	sleep	here	old	woman	1:SG:S	PST	tell-TR		3:SG:S	PST

tel-am	*mi*	*'Yu*	*jidan*	*wi*	*garra*	*jidan*	*lilbit*	*a*	*nakap'*	*'No*	*Yu*
tell-TR	me	2:SG	sit	we	POT	sit	limited	1:SG:S	knock:up	NEG	2:SG

kan	*nakap*	*wi*	*garra*	*len*	*we*	*yu*	*bin*	*goun*	*bipo*	*bush*	*wok-in'*
NEG	knock:up	we	POT	learn	REL	2:SG	PST	gone	before	bush	walk-PROG

'A-l	*len-am*	*yu:'...*
1:SG:S-POT	learn-TR	2:SG

... I stopped walking, took off my dress and bathed in the river. After a while the other one came up and she took off her dress and bathed too. When we had finished bathing, we put on our dresses again and got some water in billycans to carry with us. We walked on and on and later we stopped and I said, 'Let's stand here and rest a moment.' She answered, 'No. You sit down. We must stop here. I'm too tired to go on.' 'No. You can't stop now. We have to keep going. We must keep walking like we used to in the old days when we travelled long distances on foot.'...

Text III

The speaker is a woman in her 50's who has a Bunaba background. She speaks Bunaba, Walmajarri, Adult Pidgin/Kriol and some English. The text is clear and easy to understand with very little difference from the speech of young people.

... (1) *a* *bin singat fo orla kid* (2) *dei bin ran na* (3) *a*
1:SG:S PST call PURP PL child 3:PL PST run EM 1:SG:S

bin dabul-um main fishing lain (4) *get det joufish a bin*
PST roll-TR 1:SG:P fishing line get that sawfish 1:SG:S PST

ged-am en ketfish a bin ged-am brim (5) *wi bin go na* (6) *wi*
get-TR and catfish 1:SG:S PST get-TR bream we PST go EM we

bin go kros langa wota (7) *i bin lilbit dip det wota* (8)
PST go across LOC water 3:SG:S PST limited deep that water

a bin go natha-wan na (9) *tray-im langa natha-wan wota* (10)
1:SG:S PST go another-NOM EM try-TR LOC another-NOM water

o:: lilbit shela-wan (11) *a bin go kros* (12) *rait wi bin*
limited shallow-NOM 1:SG:S PST go across right we PST

go na go-bek (13) *ab-am sapa langa dinakemp ...*
go EM go-back eat-TR supper LOC picnic:spot

... (1) I called to the children (to leave their fishing/playing and go back). (2) They ran off. (3) I rolled up my fishing line, (4) picked up the sawfish, catfish and bream. (5) We left the place then. (6) We started to cross the creek (7) but it was too deep. (8) So I went to another spot. (9) I tried a different route. (10) It was shallower there. (11) I went across. (12) We returned (13) and had our evening meal at the picnic spot...

NOTES

1. The name Kriol has been in use in the Northern Territory since 1976 and is the orthographic spelling of 'Creole'. Although the speakers of Kriol refer to it as 'Pidgin' the Principal of the Bamyili School decided to use the technically more accurate name, Creole (Kriol), when the language was introduced into the school bilingual education programme in 1974. He did this because he anticipated that the negative connotations associated with the term Pidgin would work to the detriment of the school programme if that name was used (Sandefur forthcoming).

2. In their survey report the Sandefurs said, '*biginini* is also used in the Fitzroy area as well as everywhere else' (1980:35). Such generalisations about the language of Fitzroy Crossing probably came about because their survey was brief and did not reveal the contrast between Adult Pidgin and Kriol as I have described it in 1.2 and 1.3, though they did make a distinction between the speech of those over 35 and those under.

3. Some notes comparing Tok Pisin with Fitzroy Crossing Kriol.

There are many lexemes in Tok Pisin that have no equivalent in Kriol. The following are a few items from Mihalic's dictionary (with his glosses) not found in the Fitzroy Valley. A possible Kriol equivalent is sometimes given in brackets.

giaman	'a lie, nonsense ... to lie, to deceive' *(laya)*
kaikai	'food, meal' *(taka)* 'to eat, to chew, to feed on' *(tagat, idim, abam)*
laik	'to like to, to want to, to wish to' *(wanda)*
nogat	'no, nothing ...' *(na, nat, najing)*
man	'... male ...' *(boi)*
manki	'... boy ...' *(boi, kid)*
maski	'to be indifferent ... in spite of'
masta	'a white man, a European' *(gardiya)*
meri	'... female ...' *(gel)*
olgeta	'all, every' *(ol, ebri, -mob)* 'altogether, completely, wholly' *(pinij, tumaj)*

pikinini	'baby, child ...' *(beibi, kid)*
save	'to know, to understand' *(nou)* 'to know how to, be able to' *(kin isi)*
tasol	(E: that's all)

A few of the more obvious grammatical differences are given below with page references to Dutton 1973.

Stap 'continuous action'. (p.148) In Fitzroy Valley Kriol *stap* does not function this way but only as an existential or completive action main verb (see 4.2.2 and Note 10). An adverb *kipgoun* can be used with similar meaning but the iterative suffix *-bat* appears on the main verb.

Wi bin lijinim-bat det stori, kipgoun

'We kept on listening to the story.'

Pinis. (p.150) The completed action morpheme *pinij* functions similarly in the Fitzroy Valley (but not the form *pinis tru*).

Reflexive/reciprocal pronouns. (p.188 and 218) The reflexive personal pronoun *yet* does not occur in the Fitzroy Valley nor is reduplication used for reciprocal actions (see 5.1 and 5.3.3).

Bai. (p.23) The lexeme *bai* as marker of future tense does not occur in the Fitzroy Valley but *garra* does (see 2.2.1).

Predicate marker. (p.7) In Fitzroy Valley Kriol, the subject pronoun occurs between a noun phrase subject and the verb but it agrees with the subject in person and number (see 2.5).

4. Some Notes Comparing Kriol from Ngukurr-Bamyili and the Fitzroy Valley (abbreviated as Ng-B and FV respectively).

The following are a few vocabulary items found in Sandefur 1979 and Sandefur & Sandefur 1979, which are known to be different at FV. The FV forms are shown in brackets.

wanim	(interrogative) 'what' *(wot)*
burrum	'from' *(from ~ brom)*
gadim	(prep) 'with' *(garra ~ garram ~ gat)*
mijelb	'one's self' *(jelp)*

olmen	'men, old man' *(men* 'man', *olmen* 'old man'*)*
olgamen	'woman, old woman' *(wumun* 'woman', *olgamen* 'old woman'*)*

The last two items above are used in Adult Pidgin with meanings the same as those at NG-B.

gibit	'give' *(gibim ~ gibirrim)*
imin	'he, she, it - past tense' *(i bin)*

I have not considered lexemes which appear to be borrowed from the Northern Territory TA languages.

Grammatical features. Some morphemes in Kriol have some type of extended use in FV. (page numbers refer to Sandefur 1979.)

stap 'stay' does not function as an existential verb (p.124f) at NG-B as it does in FV (see 4.2.2).

bi is used only if the state referred to is future (p.123). At FV it is extended to the past also (see 4.2.1).

neba is glossed 'never' on p.126 and it contrasts with *nomo* and *no* which are the 'simple' negatives. This form has become the main negative in FV and *nomo* is restricted to a meaning of degree (see 2.2.2).

{*da*} does not occur in Sandefur's description (see 4.1.5).

jelp ~ mijelb. The first is the form used at FV and the second at Ng-B. However it is not a simple transference of form. *Jelp* functions as reflexive, reciprocal and restrictive as described in Chapter 5. *Mijelb* has both reflexive and restrictive functions (p.91f) and the adverb *mijamet* in Ng-B can also be used to express individual participation. Reciprocal action is not part of the meaning of *mijelb* but a completely different morpheme, *gija,* is used (p.94). Neither *mijamet* nor *jiga* is known at FV.

tumaj. Here again one form at FV encompasses two meanings, 'very' and 'because'; but Ng-B differentiates with contrasting forms, *tumaj* 'very', *tumaji* 'because' (p.151).

Prepositions {*blanga*} and *fo* in FV Kriol can be postposed (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2) but there are no examples of this from Ng-B.

Pronouns differ in that FV makes contrast between subject and object in 3rd singular and some 1st person forms making it more like the Ng-B 'light' pronoun system (p.87). First dual inclusive is preferred as *minyu* at FV rather than *yunmi* and 1st plural inclusive is *wilat*. *Mela* is more common at FV than *mipala* though both forms are used (see 2.4).

5. The names of specific traditional Australian languages are spelled according to Wurm except for Walmajarri. This has recently been changed from Walmatjari to conform with the orthography in use in Walmajarri literature.

6. For this information I am grateful to the Librarian of the Shire of the West Kimberley, M.A. Stevens.

7. The second alternative was considered to be the case by Fraser (influenced in her short visit by myself and my co-worker, Eirlys Richards) when she wrote, 'It [Kriol] may therefore be classified as a "pidgin undergoing creolization". By contrast, APE [Adult Pidgin] functions more as an "auxiliary contact language", i.e. a true pidgin' (p.149). More recent evidence suggests that we were wrong in this and that the language taken up by these hostel children was an imported one, Kriol.

8. See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the lexeme *ting*.

9. To determine whether adjectives suffixed with *-wan* or *-pala* are adjectives or nouns further study is required. In the meantime the term 'nominal' has been used. Such words have more features of adjective than noun. They can, and frequently do, occur without a head noun.

> *Wan big raun-wan deya*
>
> 'There's a big round one there.'

In noun phrases both forms, adjective and adjective + *-wan*, can modify a noun but the suffixed form is preferred. Similarly in the predicate of Ascriptive clauses both occur (see 4.1.1 for examples).

> *Orla big kid bin go*
>
> 'The big children went.'
>
> *Orla gridi-wan kid bin teikim*
>
> 'The greedy children took it.'
>
> *Dis tri bin abam kwik-kwik-pala prut*
>
> 'This tree bore fruit before the normal time for bearing.'

A noun can be suffixed and then it can modify a noun.

I garra gardiya-wan fatha

'She has a white father.'

The morphemes are frequently suffixed to demonstratives, pronouns and numerals.

dis + wan > dijan 'this'

yu + pala > yupala (3rd person plural pronoun)

wan + pala > wanpala 'one'

I have not been able to satisfactorily specify the meaning difference between these two morphemes. Steffensen's reference (p.121) to the same morphemes indicates that in Bamyili there is a 'strong tendency' for *-pala* to be used if the referent is human and *-wan* otherwise. Although this at first seemed to apply at Fitzroy Crossing, checking the data soon revealed numerous situations where either morpheme could occur. Some restrictions have been noted however; *-pala* but never *-wan* is used with pronouns and numerals.

There are other intrinsically plural suffixes with similar function, *-lat* as in *det-lat* 'those' and *-mob* as in *big-mob* 'many, much', *fraitin-mob* 'frightened ones'.

10. A homonym, *stap* 'stop' functions as a full verb elsewhere in the language with the meaning of cessation of activity. It can be transitivised.

Mai irrul lilbit klin wen det nois bin stap

'My ear feels much better when the noise stops.'

Ai bin stap-am det motika la rudas

'I stopped the car at the roadhouse.'

11. The reduplicated adverb *kwik-en-kwik* refers to plural actions of the agent but in all examples plural entities are also referred to in the object.

I bin gedam kwik-en-kwik motika

'He had many different cars, one after the other.'

12. This quote is taken from an article in *National Outlook* in the June issue of 1980, page 23.

13. The language is also called Tok Pisin.

14. Data from the Kimberley area presented by Worms in 1937 provides an example from TA languages of either conflation or incorrect assignment of an etymon. He says that the form *melemele* was at that time used by the Garadjari tribe (near Broome) to refer to 'letter' or 'book' and was derived from English 'mail'. The Walmajarri use a similar form, *mirlimirli*, to refer to 'letter', 'paper' and 'book'. This word is the name of one of the paperbark trees and suggests that there has been lexical conflation between the traditional name for paperbark and the English word 'mail'. Actually *mirlimirli* is not a Kriol word for there are other more recent forms such as *leta* 'letter' and *buk* 'book'. *Meil* from 'mail' is also in Kriol but with a specialised meaning of income which arrives by post.

15. 'Subsection' refers to the eight recognised social groupings of Aborigines in the Fitzroy Valley (and beyond). Everyone belongs to one of the eight groups and traditionally they influence marriage choice and social behaviour.

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